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P. OVIDI NASONIS

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Ovid

P. OVIDI NASONIS

TRISTIVM

LIBER SECVNDVS

EDITED

WITH AN INTRODUCTION, TRANSLATION, AND COMMENTARY

by

S. G. OWEN, M.A.

STUDENT AND TUTOR OF CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD

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PREFACE

THAT I should edit the Tristia was suggested to me long ago by Robinson Ellis, of whom I speak with veneration. Untiring in industry, and in devotion to the study of Latin, that great scholar had the gift of inspiring others with his own enthusiasm; such recent advances in scholarship as there have been in Oxford owe not a little to his encouragement.

He was right in drawing attention to the Tristia, which so far from being 'a melancholy record of flagging vitality and failing powers', as it has been inappropriately described in a popular handbook, is replete with interest. Not only is there in these poems much delightful verse, the hasty departure from Rome, the poet's autobiography, the legend of Absyrtus and so forth. There is matter of historical importance. By these poems we are enabled to realize the miserable existence of the numerous political exiles of those days, and the insecurity of life on the Eastern frontiers of the Roman Empire, beset by wild hordes of invading tribes, pressing forward from Central Asia, a prelude to the cataclysm which was destined to sweep away the power of Rome.

The Second Book of the Tristia is the poet's defence of himself. It is an apologetic essay, ingenious in argument and littered with allusions, the full appreciation of which is not easy. Indeed, save the Ibis, no part of Ovid's works is more difficult. The Ibis has been expounded by Robinson

Ellis in his learned edition. No adequate commentary has been written on the Second Book of the Tristia. I therefore offer this attempt to supply the deficiency. I have found it necessary to consider the circumstances under which the poem was composed, and the legal technicalities concerning the poet's condemnation. Incidentally I have investigated the nature of a lost poem of Ovid. The manuscript material has been briefly discussed, since the text is by no means certain, though it is not so corrupt as to require much emendation. I see no established trace of interpolated lines. Ancient scribes were inclined to omit, rather than to interpolate. This Mr. A. C. Clark has shown in his work 'The Primitive Text of the Gospels and Acts'. The presumed interpolator, who derived enjoyment from inserting copy of his own into other people's works, that critics in a far-off future might exercise their ingenuity by scenting out these irrelevancies, is an ill-supported fantasy which flourished in the last century, and still dies hard.

The contents of this Book offer much that requires comment. Thus especially the terse survey of Greek and Latin poets, and the concise summary of Roman games and pastimes, have a peculiar interest and present special difficulties. Many of the writers enumerated in Ovid's literary catalogue have been lost, and the character of the games and pastimes is obscure. Scratchings on the floor of the Basilica Julia and elsewhere, archaeological remnants, inscriptions and such like, help us to some extent to reconstruct that lighter side of the pleasure-loving Roman's life.

I have to acknowledge the personal assistance of friends, for which I am very grateful. Mr. W. M. Lindsay, Professor of Humanity at the University of St. Andrews, Mr. A. C. Pearson, Professor of Greek at Cambridge, and

Sir James McCrone Douie, K.C.S.I., have informed me about certain points as to which I consulted them. My colleagues Mr. J. D. Beazley and Mr. J. G. Barrington-Ward have given me valuable and vigilant help in correcting the proof-sheets, which work has been greatly lightened by the care and skill of the officials of the Clarendon Press. To Mr. Beazley I owe a special debt; for he generously consented to read through my translation in the manuscript; many improvements are due to his taste and ripe scholarship.

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INTRODUCTION

I

THE CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH LED TO OVID'S BANISHMENT AND THE COMPOSITION OF THE TRISTIA

THE second book of the Tristia, unlike the rest, is not a collection of separate poems, but a continuous essay. It is an apology addressed to Augustus, in which the poet defends his Art of Love and extenuates his misconduct, in order to secure a mitigation of his sentence. Not born like Horace and Virgil from parents of humble circumstances, but sprung from an old and respectable equestrian family,[1] Ovid was not compelled in the struggle for fame to attach himself to wealthy and powerful patrons, but being in comfortable circumstances was able at once to enter into the life of the Roman fashionable world. Though in early youth his allowance was prudently restricted, he received the best education procurable at Rome,[2] completing his course, as was usual, with rhetoric, which he studied under the able master Arellius Fuscus, an Asiatic, whose redundant style is reflected in his pupil.[3] He also resorted to the more famous teacher Porcius Latro, of Spanish origin, whose style was more varied and restrained.[4] The recollection was long cherished in the rhetorical schools of the poet's refined, graceful, and attrac-

[1] T. II. 110 foll.; IV. 10. 7. P. IV. 8. 17.

[2] T. IV. 10. 16.

[3] Sen. Contr. II. 2. 8 'hanc controversiam memini ab Ovidio Nasone declamari apud rhetorem Arellium Fuscum, cuius auditor fuit'. II. praef. 1 'erat explicatio Fusci Arelli splendida quidem sed operosa et implicata . . . splendida oratio et magis lasciva quam laeta'. He came from Asia: Sen. contr. IX. 29. 16 'Fuscus Arellius, cum esset ex Asia', where Schulting's conjecture Asianis is unnecessary.

[4] Sen. Contr. II. 2. 8 'Latronis admirator erat, cum diversum sequeretur dicendi genus . . . adeo autem studiose Latronem audiit, ut multas illius sententias in versus suos transtulerit'. Of Latro Seneca says, Contr. I. praef. 13 'nihil illo viro gravius, nihil suavius, nihil eloquentia dignius . . . nemo plus ingenio suo imperavit, nemo plus indulsit'.

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tive character,[1] of his improvised speeches, which were emotional rather than argumentative,[2] and of the poetical colouring of his prose style.[3] If his prose was poetical, his verse on the other hand is tinged by rhetoric to no ordinary extent. He was trained for the law, which was the regular avenue to a political career, and served in fact as a judge in the centumviral court and as an arbitrator in private actions,[4] and as a member of the board of 'tresviri capitales'[5] he held a post in the vigintivirate which qualified for a seat in the senate.[6] But he had no taste for the law or the turmoil of politics, and forsaking such ambitions devoted himself to the pursuit of poetry and the pleasures of society. He was but twenty years old when he first recited poems in public;[7] he frequented the society of older poets,[8] and soon himself won recognition as a rising genius.[9] He had the happy temperament, the joy of life, which sees its ideal in its own age. He was no lorn bard who affected simplicity. The austere virtues of the past might claim respect, but it was the present epoch of culture and refinement, in which his lot was cast, that met with the unstinted approval of his generous nature.[10] To this generous outlook is due his 'comprehensive sympathy, which refused to excommunicate the real poets of any age or style',[11] and which is displayed in his appreciative criticism of the brother poets of his own age no less than of the great poets of the past. His bold praise of Gallus, who had incurred the disfavour of Augustus,[12] and his unique recognition

[1] Sen. Contr. II. 2. 8 'habebat ille comptum et decens et amabile ingenium'.

[2] Sen. Contr. II. 2. 12 'declamabat autem Naso raro controversias et non nisi ethicas; libentius dicebat suasorias'.

[3] Sen. Contr. II. 2. 8 'oratio eius iam tum nihil aliud poterat videri quam solutum carmen'.

[4] T. II. 93-6 notes.

[5] T. IV. 10. 34.

[6] T. II. 93-4 note.

[7] T. IV. 10. 57.

[8] T. IV. 10. 41.

[9] T. IV. 10. 125-8.

[10] A. A. III. 121

prisca iuvent alios, ego me nunc denique natum
gratulor: haec aetas moribus apta meis.

F. I. 225

laudamus veteres, sed nostris utimur annis.

[11] Nettleship, Lectures and Essays, p. 73.

[12] Am. I. 15. 29-30; III. 9. 63. T. II. 445. Rothstein, Propertius, p. xxiv.

of the transcendent merit of Lucretius are peculiarly remarkable.[1]

The despotic rule of Augustus had brought tranquillity to the Romans with the loss of civil liberty. Politics now ceased to dominate the public attention, and the large and brilliant society of the capital was occupied with other subjects of distraction, the theatre, the public spectacles, frivolous amusements of all sorts, music, social gatherings where gossip reigned and wit could be displayed, affairs of the heart and gallant adventures, which were largely concerned with unmarried women of sparkling gifts but easy virtue, such as were the mistresses sung by Tibullus and Propertius, and Ovid's own Corinna. This was the society of which Ovid aspired to become, and soon became, the accredited poet and exponent.

The chronology of the poet's earlier works is obscure. The three books of the Amores, which came first (originally issued in five books as the epigram prefixed to Book I states), must have been published before the Ars Amatoria, since the Amores is expressly mentioned in A. A. III. 343

> deve tribus libris, titulo quos signat Amorum,
> elige, quod docili molliter ore legas.

It is, indeed, generally considered that there is a direct allusion to the Ars Amatoria, which at first sight would seem to imply the priority of that work, in the text as we have it of Am. II. 18. 19

> quod licet, aut artes teneri profitemur Amoris.

But that is best explained by supposing that this was an addition inserted in the second edition of the Amores after the Ars Amatoria was published.[2] Némethy,[3] however, sees in the words no reference to the Ars Amatoria, and interprets the meaning to be that

[1] Am. I. 15. 23

> carmina sublimis tunc sunt peritura Lucreti,
> exitio terras cum dabit una dies.

T. II. 425, cp. 261. Zingerle, Ovidius u. s. Verhältniss, II. 12. Macer and Sabinus are the subjects of Am. II. 18, the death of Tibullus of III. 9. The poem Am. I. 15, on the immortality of poets, contains a list of poets. Similar lists in A. A. III. 329 foll.; Rem. 759 foll.; P. IV. 16. Ovid recognizes his own catholicity in this respect T. V. 3. 53 foll.

[2] Brandt, Amores, Einleit. p. 35.

[3] Némethy, Amores, p. 212.

in his function of an erotic poet the writer of love elegies is a teacher of love. This is possible; but the words 'artes teneri profitemur Amoris' more naturally suggest a specific reference to A. A. 1. 1

> siquis in hoc artem populo non novit amandi,
> hoc legat et lecto carmine doctus amet.

and ibid. 17

> Aeacidae Chiron, ego sum praeceptor Amoris.

The allusions in Am. II. 18. 13 to the Medea and ibid. 21–6 to nine of the Heroides are best understood as anticipatory references to those two works, upon the composition of which Ovid was engaged when he published the Amores.[1] It is probable that the first edition of the Amores appeared soon after 19 B. C., the second shortly after the publication of the Remedia Amoris and the Ars Amatoria, of which Book I appeared about 2 or 1 B. C., and was quickly followed by Books II and III, and shortly afterwards by the Remedia Amoris. The dates of the rest are uncertain, but the order of the publication of the earlier works may be assumed to be: 1. Amores, first edition in five books; 2. Medea; 3. Heroides; 4. De medicamine faciei; 5. Ars Amatoria; 6. Remedia Amoris; 7. Amores, second edition in three books.[2]

With the appearance of the Amores Ovid's pre-eminence was assured, and for nearly thirty years he was the cherished poet of fashionable Rome, the city of Venus, in which, he cynically confesses, the only virtuous women were those whom no one had solicited: Am. I. 8. 42

> at Venus Aeneae regnat in urbe sui.
> ludunt formosae: casta est, quam nemo rogavit.

The Amores, with its audacious smartness and unblushing confidences volunteered in graceful and sensuous verse, was something new to Roman elegy, quite different from the refined softness of Tibullus and the self-conscious passion of Propertius, with his strange transitions from splendid lucidity to sombre obscureness. Whether Ovid's Corinna was a real woman, or whether she represents the various phases of love or the poet's own fickle

[1] Palmer, Heroides, p. x.

[2] Schanz, Gesch. röm. Litt. II. (ed. 3) 1. 271. Brandt, Ars Am. p. xxiii. Lavagnini, Athenaeum (Pavia) IX. 2.

adventures, is a secret the author never revealed.[1] At any rate she was no married woman, but stands for some accomplished lady of the demi-monde. Intrigue with that class was sanctioned by the lax moral code of the period. For that reason Ovid was able to declare boldly that no scandal had ever injured his good name.[2] Yet even at the time of the composition of these poems there was an undercurrent of adverse criticism foreshadowing future trouble. Serious minded men, who regretted the decay of the austere virtues of the past, blamed the poet's renunciation of a more manly line of life.

Am. I. 15. 1

> quid mihi, Livor edax, ignavos obicis annos,
> ingeniique vocas carmen inertis opus;
> non me more patrum, dum strenua sustinet aetas,
> praemia militiae pulverulenta sequi,
> nec me verbosas leges ediscere, nec me
> ingrato vocem prostituisse foro?

Ovid's splendid reply in this same poem, that he aspired only to that greatness which is ensured by immortal verse, was not calculated to satisfy such critics, especially as he mischievously pretended that the lover's campaigns are as noble a form of warfare as the campaigns of the warrior, which were the most venerated asset of the Roman race.[3]

In the Heroides Ovid provided a fresh surprise. These argumentative monologues in verse, in the form of letters by legendary heroines, were pleadings adapted from the 'suasoriae' of the rhetorical schools, a novelty for which Ovid justly claimed credit, A. A. III. 345

> vel tibi composita cantetur epistula voce:
> ignotum hoc aliis ille novavit opus.

In these he again harped on love, and again appealed to the world of fashion as his public. His damsels, who write letters to their lovers and expect punctual replies, are sophisticated Roman ladies thinly disguised in antique setting. The letters are psychological studies; by their legendary framework Ovid, ever

[1] T. II. 339–40 note.
[2] T. II. 349–50. Boissier, L'Opposition sous les Césars, p. 116.
[3] Am. I. 9. 1

> militat omnis amans, et habet sua castra Cupido.

youthful like his own Silenus,[1] attempted to rejuvenate the mythology which Virgil found had already become stale.[2] He appealed shortly afterwards to the same public in the character of a beauty-doctor, by his didactic poem on cosmetics, of which only a hundred lines have been preserved, the De medicamine faciei, a clever piece of trifling, in which girls are advised to rely not merely on beauty to attract, but to remember that (not forgetting cosmetics) character and wit have more enduring force.[3]

His most daring bid for popularity with the smart world was the Ars Amatoria, published when he had passed his fortieth year and was in the full maturity of his powers. Its success was immediate.[4] This shameless compendium of profligacy, based as its author avows on his own experience,[5] is a systematic treatise on voluptuous pleasure. Though Ovid warns his readers that his subject is the capture not of respectable and chaste women, but of the frailer members of the sex,[6] and though the incorrigible poet's audacious humour and sparkling levity might preclude the attachment of any serious importance to his work, it is clear that the upholders of morality were gravely incensed, and argued that the arts he taught might easily be misapplied to the corruption of others besides those for whom they were designed. Unfavourable comments called forth from him the Remedia Amoris or 'antidotes to love', a sort of recantation of the Ars Amatoria, in which he claimed to furnish specifics for stifling love. But he wrote with visible effort and against the grain, and the impression left is that the preacher against love drew in reality all his inspiration from that passion, of which he confesses he is still a victim.[7] The contemptuous answer made in the Remedia to his critics, at the time when he was in the full flush of literary success, was again

[1] M. XIV. 639

Silenusque suis semper iuvenilior annis.

[2] Verg. G. III. 3.

[3] Med. fac. 45–8. The subject was treated again by Ovid, A. A. III. 101–250.

[4] Sen. Exc. Contr. III. 7 '(Ovidius) qui hoc saeculum amatoriis non artibus tantum sed sententiis implevit'.

[5] A. A. I. 29

usus opus movet hoc: vati parete perito.
vera canam: coeptis, mater Amoris, ades.

[6] A. A. I. 31. T. II. 245. [7] Rem. 7–8.

not calculated to appease the resentment which had been excited. He boasts that he had reduced love to a system.[1] Popularity, he said, and poetical renown was all he cared for. If he could secure that, what mattered the disapproval of a faction? Even Virgil had been traduced! Moreover, the elegiac couplet was created for licentious verse.[2] And in immediate sequence on this apology he proceeded unregenerate to insert in the Remedia a passage of gross indelicacy. The motive of his critics he declares to be jealousy,[3] which, as he could not have ventured to impute this to his sovereign, would appear to indicate that the censure did not proceed from an official source.

Though the Remedia gives no exact information as to the precise nature of the protests evoked, it is clear from the Second Book of the Tristia that the Ars Amatoria was attacked because it was contended with reason that the arts of deception which Ovid taught to light o' loves might easily be employed by wives to deceive their husbands, and that in fact some women had been corrupted by his teaching.[4] He knew himself that he would be read by all the world, even by girls and youths, as he had already asserted.[5] Therefore the infection would be far-reaching. This was no doubt the view taken by those who regarded with suspicion the increasing laxity of morals, and was no doubt the view of Augustus himself, who perceived the danger to the state involved in the growth of luxury and immorality, and attempted systematically to restore simplicity of dress and mode of living and the virtues of the home.[6] As early as 28 B.C. he had endeavoured to encourage marriage by legislation directed against celibacy, which excluded bachelors from official careers and forbade alliances between men of good birth and freedwomen. But his law aroused such violent opposition that it had been withdrawn, at which event the poet Propertius expressed his reasonable delight.[7] But Augustus stolidly persisted in his unpopular enterprise by enacting in 18 B.C. the 'lex de maritandis ordinibus'[8] and in A.D. 9 the

[1] Rem. 9.
[2] Rem. 361–98.
[3] Livor. Rem. 365, 389.
[4] T. II. 253–4, 277–8.
[5] Am. II. 1. 5

me legat in sponsi facie non frigida virgo
et rudis ignoto tactus amore puer.

[6] Gardthausen, Augustus u. s. Zeit I. 2. 897 foll.
[7] Prop. II. 7. Gardthausen, l. c. 902.
[8] Dio Cass. LIV. 16. Hor. Carm. Saec. 17–20.

more comprehensive 'lex Papia et Poppaea'.[1] Also in 18 B.C. he had passed a law dealing specially with adultery.[2] The emperor flattered himself on the success of his moral reforms. But it is hard to instil virtue by legislation, as he soon discovered when grievous scandals opened his eyes to the failure of his efforts, culminating in the revelation in 2 B.C. of the reckless depravity of his own daughter Julia.[3] His anger was unbounded. He banished numerous men who were supposed to have been her lovers, and put to death her chief paramour Julius Antonius, son of the triumvir; while he consigned Julia herself to exile in the barren island Pandataria, and never forgave her. His anger as a father was probably sharpened by vexation at his baffled policy, which the dissoluteness of his own daughter, a member of his own family, had grimly proclaimed to all the world to have been ineffectual. By a coincidence Ovid's Ars Amatoria was published about the same time as Julia's exile, and, though her indiscretions dated from long before, the indignant emperor may well have suspected some not mysterious connexion between the teaching of the poet and the practice of his daughter, and it is likely that his resentment against Ovid then became confirmed, as the poet's doctrine ran sharply counter to his public policy.[4] But no proceedings were taken against the daring author, who retained his equestrian dignity unchallenged.[5] Ovid's prosperity continued, and his literary fame increased. It was not till A.D. 8 that the emperor's displeasure was declared. Then, on account of an act of his which he refuses to disclose, the blow descended. When he was in attendance on his friend and patron M. Aurelius Cotta in the island of Elba[6] the news was suddenly conveyed to him that he was sentenced to exile by an imperial edict which, while leaving him in possession of his property and civic rights, condemned him

[1] Tac. A. III. 25. Gardthausen, l. c. 904.

[2] Hor. Carm. IV. 5. 22. Gardthausen, l. c. 903.

[3] Dio LV. 10. Vellei. II. 100. Sen. Ben. VI. 32. Gardthausen, I. 3. 1101; II. 3. 717.

[4] Boissier, L'Opposition sous les Césars, p. 133 foll. Prior, Poems, i. 245 (Aldine edition)

> Ovid is the surest guide,
> You can name, to show the way
> To any woman, maid or bride,
> Who resolves to go astray.

[5] T. II. 541.

[6] P. II. 3. 83.

not to the severer form of banishment (deportatio) but to exile in a place of residence specially prescribed (relegatio), in his case the town of Tomis in Moesia, identical with or near to the modern Kustendsche, in the dreary district around the Danube's mouth.[1]

It has been generally assumed, following the chronology of Masson,[2] that Ovid was banished in A.D. 9; but recent investigation has led to the conclusion that the sentence of banishment was pronounced in A.D. 8. This appears from the consideration of certain passages in the Pontic Epistles. In P. IV. 6. 5 we read

> in Scythia nobis quinquennis Olympias acta est·
> iam tempus lustri transit in alterius.

Ibid. 15

> coeperat Augustus deceptae ignoscere culpae:
> spem nostram terras deseruitque simul.
> quale tamen potui, de caelite, Brute, recenti
> vestra procul positus carmen in ora dedi.

Here Ovid says that he is writing in the fifth year of his exile shortly after receiving the news of the death of Augustus. Augustus' death took place on August 19, A.D. 14. The news of it can hardly have reached Tomis before October of that year. If Ovid had been already five years at Tomis in the autumn of A.D. 14, he must have been there already in the October of A.D. 9. Furthermore, writing shortly after the death of Augustus, he says P. IV. 13. 38

> 'Caesaris inperio restituendus eras.'
> ille quidem dixit: sed me iam, Care, nivali
> sexta relegatum bruma sub axe videt.

Here he is writing in the sixth winter of his exile, the winter of A.D. 14–15 following the death of Augustus; from which it results that the first winter of his residence in exile at Tomis was the winter of A.D. 9–10. Ovid was exiled at the end of the year, and started on his journey into banishment in December.[3] He travelled by sea through the Adriatic and the Corinthian Gulf to Lechaeum, thence crossing the isthmus of Corinth he embarked again at Cenchreae, and proceeded to Samothrace, where having spent some time he then crossed over in another ship to Tempyra, and performed the rest of his journey through Thrace to Tomis by

[1] T. I. 10. 41; IV. 4. 55.
[2] Ovidii Vita, p. 80 Burman.
[3] T. I. 11. 3.

land.[1] This must have taken so long that, if he was banished in A.D. 9, it is impossible that he could have reached Tomis in the winter of that year. He must therefore have been banished in A.D. 8,[2] and reached Tomis probably in the spring of A.D. 9.

Ovid attributes his disgrace to two causes 'carmen et error', to his poem the Ars Amatoria and to an offence, due to an error of judgement, the nature of which he is forbidden to reveal.[3]

The elaborate defence of the Ars Amatoria contained in the Second Book of the Tristia proves that, so far from being, as some have supposed, a mere pretext put forward by Augustus to mask the real but concealed reason of the poet's disgrace,[4] the Ars Amatoria had indeed aroused the genuine indignation of Augustus. This is manifest from P. II. 9. 73

> neve roges, quae sit, stultam conscripsimus Artem:
> innocuas nobis haec vetat esse manus.
> ecquid praeterea peccarim, quaerere noli,
> ut lateat sola culpa sub Arte mea.

'Do not ask', he says in the last couplet, 'what was that other wrong act I have committed, that my fault may be concealed beneath my Art of Love alone,' viz. that my Art of Love only may be publicly known as my fault, the other fault remaining undisclosed. That the Ars Amatoria was a real cause of his punishment is further confirmed by the insistence with which Ovid speaks of his poetry as the cause of his calamity: T. II. 2

> ingenio perii qui miser ipse meo.

T. II. 10

> acceptum refero versibus esse nocens.

T. II. 495

> denique nec video tot de scribentibus unum,
> quem sua perdiderit Musa, repertus ego.

T. III. 3. 73

> hic ego, qui iaceo, tenerorum lusor amorum
> ingenio perii Naso poeta meo.

T. III. 7. 9

> et tamen ad Musas, quamvis nocuere, reverti.

[1] T. I. 1. 10. [2] Schanz, Gesch. röm. Litt. II. 1. 267.

[3] T. II. 207–12.

[4] This theory was adopted by Milton, Areopagitica, p. 38 Arber: 'But that Naso was by him [Augustus] banisht in his old age, for the wanton poems of his youth, was but a meer covert of state over some secret cause: and besides, the books were neither banisht nor call'd in.'

Ibis 5

nec quemquam nostri, nisi me, laesere libelli,
artificis periit cum caput Arte sua.

P. II. 7. 47

artibus ingenuis quaesita est gloria multis:
infelix perii dotibus ipse meis.

P. III. 5. 4

laesus ab ingenio Naso poeta suo.

P. IV. 2. 32

principium nostri res sit ut ista mali;

and as the cause of his banishment, T. V. 12. 45

pace, novem, vestra liceat dixisse, sorores:
vos estis nostrae maxima causa fugae.

P. IV. 13. 41

nocuerunt carmina quondam
primaque tam miserae causa fuere fugae.

The Ars Amatoria is constantly described as a direct cause of his disgrace: T. I. 1. 67

'inspice' dic 'titulum. non sum praeceptor amoris
quas meruit, poenas iam dedit illud opus;'

like a fresh Oedipus or Telegonus this child of his brain has been the destroyer of its own parent,[1] ibid. 113

hos tu vel fugias, vel, si satis oris habebis,
Oedipodas facito Telegonosque voces.

He speaks more explicitly, P. II. 10. 15

Naso parum prudens, artem dum tradit amandi,
doctrinae pretium triste magister habet.

P. III. 3. 46

discipulo perii solus ab ipse meo.
dum damus arma tibi, dum te, lascive, docemus,
haec te discipulo dona magister habet.[2]

[1] Cp. T. III. 1. 66.

[2] Other passages are T. I. 9. 58; IV. 1. 30, 35; V. 1. 20. P. I. 2. 134; II. 10. 12; III. 3. 23

o puer, exilii decepto causa magistro,
quem fuit utilius non docuisse mihi.

ibid. 38–40, 57

quid tamen hoc prodest, vetiti si lege severa
credor adulterii composuisse notas?

III. 5. 21.

But though the Ars Amatoria constituted a wrong act (peccatum), the moral guilt of which is admitted,[1] Ovid maintains that the poem transgressed no law.[2]

The second, and more serious cause, which immediately produced his ruin and banishment, he describes as an 'error'. His readers must not ask what this mysterious offence was; of its nature he must be silent; the wound inflicted will be aggravated if it is disturbed: T. III. 6. 32

illa tegi caeca condita nocte decet.

P. I. 6. 21

nec breve nec tutum peccati quae sit origo
scribere; tractari vulnera nostra timent.
qualicumque modo mihi sunt ea facta, rogare
desine: non agites, siqua coire velis.
quicquid id est, ut non facinus, sic culpa vocanda est.
omnis an in magnos culpa deos scelus est?

P. II. 2. 57

vulneris id genus est quod, cum sanabile non sit,
non contrectari tutius esse puto.
lingua, sile. non est ultra narrabile quicquam.

P. II. 9. 73

neve roges, quae sit, stultam conscripsimus Artem . . .
ecquid praeterea peccarim, quaerere noli.

P. III. 1. 147

nec factum defende meum: mala causa silenda est.

This error was an unwise mistake of judgement: T. I. 2. 99

immo ita, si scitis, si me meus abstulit error,
stultaque, non nobis mens scelerata fuit.

T. IV. 4. 39

aut timor aut error nobis, prius obfuit error.

P. II. 3. 66

diceris erratis ingemuisse meis.

But the moral guilt (culpa), which it involved, did not amount to crime (scelus): T. I. 3. 37

caelestique viro, quis me deceperit error,
dicite, pro culpa ne scelus esse putet.

[1] T. II. 315.

[2] T. II. 243; III. 2. 5.

T. III. 1. 51

in quo poenarum, quas se meruisse fatetur,
non facinus causam, sed suus error habet.

T. III. 5. 51

non equidem totam possum defendere culpam:
sed partem nostri criminis error habet.

T. III. 11. 33

omnia vera puta mea crimina, nil sit in illis,
quod magis errorem quam scelus esse putes.

T. IV. 1. 23

scit quoque, cum perii, quis me deceperit error,
et culpam in facto, non scelus, esse meo,
scilicet hoc ipso nunc aequa, quod obfuit ante,
cum mecum iuncti criminis acta rea est,

i.e. my poetry injured me when my poem was charged with the same charge as that brought against me, of having taught immorality.

T. IV. 10. 89

scite precor, causam (nec vos mihi fallere fas est)
errorem iussae, non scelus, esse fugae.

P. I. 6. 25

quicquid id est, ut non facinus, sic culpa vocanda est.[1]

It was due to folly, simplicity, and timidity almost amounting to insanity: T. I. 2. 100

stultaque, non nobis mens scelerata fuit.

T. III. 6. 35

stultitiamque meum crimen debere vocari.

P. I. 6. 20

stulta magis dici quam scelerata decet.

P. I. 7. 44

stultitiam dici crimina posse mea.

T. I. 5. 42

hanc merui simplicitate fugam.[2]

T. IV. 4. 39

aut timor aut error nobis, prius obfuit error.

[1] So also P. I. 7. 39; II. 6. 7; III. 3. 73.

[2] 'simplicitas' means freedom from guile: H. 2. 64 'simplicitas digna favore fuit'. Planudes translates ἡ τῶν τρόπων ἁπλότης.

P. II. 2. 17

nil nisi non sapiens possum timidusque vocari.

P. II. 3. 45

adfuit insano iuvenis Phoceus Orestae:
et mea non minimum culpa furoris habet.

Though not an actual crime the error was a wrong act: T. V. 11. 17

peccato facinus non affuit illi.

T. V. 2. 60

sed tua peccato lenior ira meo est.

P. I. 1. 66

ut non peccarim mors quoque non faciet.

P. II. 3. 33

te nihil exactos nisi nos peccasse fatentem;

'You who admit that I who am banished have committed merely a wrong act.' So P. I. 6. 21 'peccati origo'. P. II. 2. 105 'peccata novissima'. P. II. 6. 5 'stulti peccata sodalis'.

But, though a wrong act, it was done by Ovid without any design of getting personal advantage from it: T. III. 6. 33

nil igitur referam nisi me peccasse, sed illo
praemia peccato nulla petita mihi.

It was not due to deliberate intention: T. IV. 4. 43

afuit omne
peccato facinus consiliumque meo.

It was a grave misdeed of which Ovid had been the unintentional witness: T. III. 5. 49

inscia quod crimen viderunt lumina, plector,
peccatumque oculos est habuisse meum.

T. II. 103

cur aliquid vidi? cur noxia lumina feci?
cur imprudenti cognita culpa mihi?
inscius Actaeon vidit sine veste Dianam:
praeda fuit canibus non minus ille suis.

T. III. 6. 27

nec breve nec tutum, quo sint mea, dicere, casu
lumina funesti conscia facta mali.

It was not one isolated act, but resulted from a sequence of events which culminated in the fatal issue: T. IV. 4. 37

hanc quoque, qua perii, culpam scelus esse negabis
si tanti series sit tibi nota mali.
aut timor aut error nobis, prius obfuit error.
a, sine me fati non meminisse mei!

P. I. 6. 21

nec breve nec tutum peccati quae sit origo
scribere; tractari vulnera nostra timent.

P. II. 3. 65

ut tamen audita est nostrae tibi cladis origo,
diceris erratis ingemuisse meis.

He had concealed something which he should have told. If he had done so he might have escaped ruin. Good advice might have saved him: T. III. 6. 11

cuique ego narrabam secreti quicquid habebam,
excepto quod me perdidit, unus eras.
id quoque si scisses, salvo fruerere sodali,
consilioque forem sospes, amice, tuo.

P. II. 6. 10

ut fera vitarem saxa, monendus eram.

It was an injury that deeply wounded the feelings of Augustus, and is described as an incurable wound: T. II. 209

non sum tanti, renovem ut tua vulnera, Caesar.

P. II. 2. 57

vulneris id genus est quod, cum sanabile non sit,
non contrectari tutius esse puto.

It was an offence against Augustus: T. I. 10. 42 'offensi ira dei'. II. 134 'offensas tuas'.

T. III. 8. 39

tantus amor necis est, querar ut cum Caesaris ira,
quod non offensas vindicet ense suas.

T. V. 7. 8 'offenso Caesare'. V. 10. 52 'Caesaris offenso numine'. T. I. 5. 84 'laesi ira dei'. II. 123 'laesi Caesaris ira'. III. 6. 23 'numinis laesi ira'. IV. 10. 98 'laesi principis ira'. P. I. 4. 44 'laesi gravis ira dei'. P. II. 2. 21

quaeque tua est pietas in totum nomen Iuli,
te laedi, cum quis laeditur inde, putas.

It could not be defended: T. I. 2. 95

et iubet et merui: nec, quae damnaverit ille,
crimina defendi fasque piumque puto.

His punishment was deserved: T. II. 29

illa [ira] quidem iusta est, nec me meruisse negabo.

P. III. 6. 9

huic ego, quam patior, nil possem demere poenae,
si iudex meriti cogerer esse mei.

He half owned his guilt to Maximus: P. II. 3. 85

cum tibi quaerenti, num verus nuntius esset,
attulerat culpae quem mala fama meae,
inter confessum dubie dubieque negantem
haerebam, pavidas dante timore notas.

He owns his guilt and publicly professes repentance, like a perjurer punished by the goddess Isis publicly proclaiming that he had deserved punishment: P. I. 1. 51

vidi ego linigerae numen violasse fatentem
Isidis Isiacos ante sedere focos.
alter, ob huic similem privatus lumine culpam,
clamabat media se meruisse via . . .
paenitet, o, si quid miserorum creditur ulli,
paenitet, et facto torqueor ipse meo.
cumque sit exilium, magis est mihi culpa dolori;
estque pati poenam, quam meruisse, minus.

Though in his poems, which were intended for general reading, Ovid refused to give particulars, the nature of his offence, though not publicly divulged, was known privately to individuals. T. I. 1. 23

protinus admonitus repetet mea crimina lector,
et peragar populi publicus ore reus.

T. IV. 10. 99

causa meae cunctis nimium quoque nota ruinae
indicio non est testificanda meo.

P. I. 7. 39

et tamen ut cuperem culpam quoque posse negari,
sic facinus nemo nescit abesse mihi.

The Imperial Government exercised a vigilant supervision over news, and allowed only such as it wished to go forth. This being the case with political events, it is not surprising that Augustus was able to suppress the emergence of the facts in Ovid's case.[1]

[1] Dio LIII. 19. 3 ἐκ δὲ δὴ τοῦ χρόνου ἐκείνου τὰ μὲν πλείω κρύφα καὶ δι' ἀπορρήτων γίγνεσθαι ἤρξατο, εἰ δέ πού τινα καὶ δημοσιευθείη, ἀλλὰ ἀνεξέλεγκτά

His offence caused Ovid to be generally detested, T. II. 87 'hominum quaesitum odium mihi carmine': a feeling experienced by Maximus when he was first informed, though the feeling was mitigated by compassion: P. II. 3. 61

ira quidem primo fuerat tua iusta, nec ipso
lenior, offensus qui mihi iure fuit.
quique dolor pectus tetigisset Caesaris alti,
illum iurabas protinus esse tuum.
ut tamen audita est nostrae tibi cladis origo,
diceris erratis ingemuisse meis.

Ovid protests against the injustice of such dislike for himself: T. V. 8. 23

vel quia peccavi citra scelus, utque pudore
non caret, invidia sic mea culpa caret.

T. V. 4. 18

conscius in culpa non scelus esse sua.

Though a positive disclosure of the nature of the offence is withheld, Ovid gives certain definite information. It was not a crime in the ordinary legal sense of the word: P. II. 9. 67

non ego caede nocens in Ponti litora veni,
mixtave sunt nostra dira venena manu:
nec mea subiecta convicta est gemma tabella
mendacem linis imposuisse notam.
nec quicquam, quod lege vetor committere, feci:
est tamen his gravior noxa fatenda mihi.
neve roges quae sit, stultam conscripsimus Artem:
innocuas nobis haec vetat esse manus.
ecquid praeterea peccarim, quaerere noli,
ut lateat sola culpa sub Arte mea.

The guilty act was not murder, poisoning, forgery, or any other illegality. But it was a more serious injury (gravior noxa) than a mere illegality. Its nature may not be disclosed. The authorship of the Ars is the only specification of his guilt (culpa) which

γε ὄντα ἀπιστεῖται· καὶ γὰρ λέγεσθαι καὶ πράττεσθαι πάντα πρὸς τὰ τῶν ἀεὶ κρατούντων τῶν τε παραδυναστευόντων σφίσι βουλήματα ὑποπτεύεται. καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο πολλὰ μὲν οὐ γιγνόμενα θρυλεῖται, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ πάνυ συμβαίνοντα ἀγνοεῖται, πάντα δὲ ὡς εἰπεῖν ἄλλως πως ἢ ὡς πράττεται διαθροεῖται. καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς μέγεθος τό τε τῶν πραγμάτων πλῆθος δυσχερεστάτην τὴν ἀκρίβειαν αὐτῶν παρέχεται. ἔν τε γὰρ τῇ Ῥώμῃ συχνὰ καὶ παρὰ τῷ ὑπηκόῳ αὐτῆς πολλά, πρός τε τὸ πολέμιον ἀεὶ καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν ὡς εἰπεῖν γίγνεταί τι, περὶ ὧν τὸ μὲν σαφὲς οὐδεὶς ῥᾳδίως ἔξω τῶν πραττόντων αὐτὰ γιγνώσκει, πλεῖστοι δ' ὅσοι οὐδ' ἀκούουσι τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅτι γέγονεν.

is allowed to go forth to the world. The word 'noxa' here employed is significant. It means in the juristic sense an injury which demands compensation to the injured person, the harm done rendering the doer liable to make amends. Thus the expression 'noxa solutus' means 'free from liability to make amends', and 'noxae deditus'[1] is used of a delinquent handed over to make compensation.[2] In H. 7. 105 Dido, addressing her late husband Sychaeus, says

> da veniam culpae: decepit idoneus auctor.
> invidiam noxae detrahit ille meae.

'Forgive my guilt: my deceiver was one whom I might justly trust. He diminishes the odium attaching to the injury for which I must atone.' As the delinquency of Dido called for compensation to her husband Sychaeus, so Ovid's delinquency called for compensation to the outraged emperor.

Nor again was Ovid's act of a treasonable nature. He had not fought against Augustus: T. I. 5. 41

> causa mea est melior, qui non contraria fovi
> arma, sed hanc merui simplicitate fugam.

T. II. 51

> causa mea est melior, qui nec contraria dicor
> arma nec hostiles esse secutus opes.

P. I. 1. 26

> saeva deos contra non tamen arma tuli.

P. II. 2. 9

> non ego concepi, si Pelion Ossa tulisset,
> clara mea tangi sidera posse manu,
> nec nos Enceladi dementia castra secuti
> in rerum dominos movimus arma deos,
> nec, quod Tydidae temeraria dextera fecit,
> numina sunt telis ulla petita meis.
> est mea culpa gravis, sed quae me perdere solum
> ausa sit, et nullum maius adorta nefas.

In this passage Ovid seems to mean that, unlike many still alive,[3] he had not fought in the ranks of the commanders who had been crushed by Augustus in the civil wars, either Brutus and Cassius, defeated at Philippi 42 B. C., here figured by Otus and

[1] F. I. 359 'noxae tibi deditus hostis'.
[2] Roby, Justinian's Digest, de Usufructu, pp. 132-6.
[3] T. II. 51 note.

Ephialtes, who piled mountains upon mountains to attack Olympus,[1] or Sextus Pompeius, defeated off Naulochus in Sicily by Agrippa 36 B.C., here figured by Enceladus,[2] or M. Antonius, defeated at Actium 31 B.C., here symbolized by Diomede.[3]

T. III. 5. 43

> denique non possum nullam sperare salutem,
> cum poenae non sit causa cruenta meae.
> non mihi quaerenti pessumdare cuncta petitum
> Caesareum caput est, quod caput orbis erat:
> non aliquid dixive, elatave lingua loquendo est,
> lapsaque sunt nimio verba profana mero:
> inscia quod crimen viderunt lumina, plector,
> peccatumque oculos est habuisse meum.

The meaning is the same. He had not engaged in war against Augustus involving bloodshed, nor like Gallus used treasonable language.[4]

This mistake on Ovid's part, this act of folly, this wrong which while not amounting to crime still called for compensation, and which resulted from a chain of events following one almost imperceptibly upon the other, was so offensive to Augustus that it caused him keen distress and aroused his indignation. Moreover, he regarded it as an insult of so personal a character that he forbade that the exact circumstances should be divulged, and did this so effectually that they have been ever since shrouded in obscurity. All that was generally known was that the poet was banished because he had written the Ars Amatoria. This was the official reason.[5]

Conjecture was soon at work, and the scandalous story that Ovid was one of the lovers of Julia, the daughter of Augustus, and that he celebrated her as Corinna in the Amores, had already become an article of faith at a period in which uncritical guess-work was in vogue, in the time of Apollinaris Sidonius (A.D. 431–89), the literary bishop of Clermont, who lived to see the last phase of

[1] Hom. Od. XI. 313 foll. Cp. Ov. M. I. 151 foll.

[2] A giant struck down by lightning by Zeus and buried under Mount Aetna. Verg. Aen. III. 578.

[3] Diomede wounded Aphrodite and Ares, Hom. Il. V. 330 foll.; 846 foll.

[4] T. II. 446.

[5] Aurel. Victor, Epitome i. 24 'nam et poetam Ovidium, qui et Naso, pro eo, quod tres libellos amatoriae artis conscripsit, exilio damnavit'.

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imperial Rome in the abdication of Romulus Augustulus: Apoll. Sid. Carm. 23. 158

> et te carmina per libidinosa
> notum, Naso tener, Tomosque missum,
> quondam Caesareae nimis puellae
> ficto nomine subditum Corinnae.[1]

The hypothesis is in itself incredible. Such a liaison would have been reckoned a crime, whereas Ovid constantly asserts that his offence was not a crime. Also, besides that Corinna is not the metrical equivalent of Julia, as Lesbia of Clodia, if the daughter of Augustus had been the mistress celebrated by Ovid in verse, such an audacious outrage could not have failed to come to the emperor's knowledge. The young poet is not likely to have risked so compromising a revelation.

Various solutions of the problem have been propounded.[2] Some are so astonishing as to be unworthy of notice, others, though ingenious, are inadmissible. Such is the theory of Huber that Ovid was implicated in a plot organized against Augustus by L. Aemilius Paulus, the husband of the younger Julia. Apart from the fact that we know nothing about this plot, the theory is negatived by Ovid's frequent assertions that his act was not a crime.[3] Such also is the strange idea of Deville[4] that Ovid, whom against all evidence he assumes to have been admitted to the intimacy of the imperial palace, acting the part of Paul Pry, caught sight of the empress Livia in her bath. But Ovid's offence was clearly something more serious than such a preposterous indiscretion. The theory is based merely on a passing illustration of the poet taken from the fate of Actaeon.[5]

The proximity of the dates of the banishment of Ovid in A.D. 8,

[1] 'And you, gentle Naso, notorious through your voluptuous poems, and dispatched to Tomi because long before you were too fondly enamoured of the daughter of Caesar under the fictitious name of Corinna.' The same tradition, the invention probably of some 'grammaticus', is found in ancient biographies preserved in the Vatican library and elsewhere, Huber, Die Ursachen d. Verbannung d. Ovid, p. 3. Przychocki, Wiener Studien XXXVI. 340.

[2] These are collected by Nageotte, Ovide, sa vie, ses œuvres, 182 foll. Appel, Quibus de causis Ovidius ab Augusto relegatus sit, 15 foll. Huber, Die Ursachen der Verbannung des Ovid, 4 foll.

[3] Suet. Aug. 19. Huber, u. s.; his view was criticized by me C. R. III. 311, and by Ehwald, Jahresbericht, LXXX, 1886–93, p. 7.

[4] Essai sur l'exile d'Ovide, Paris 1859.

[5] T. II. 103-6.

of Agrippa Postumus in A. D. 7, and of the younger Julia in A. D. 8, has naturally suggested that the poet's disgrace was connected with that of one or other of Augustus' grandchildren. The most widely accepted view connects it with the banishment of the younger Julia.[1] This princess, the daughter of the elder Julia and granddaughter of Augustus, had been married to L. Aemilius Paulus, who was put to death for complicity in a conspiracy against the emperor.[2] Julia herself was banished, but soon obtained permission to return to Rome, where she followed the same irregular course of life as her notorious mother, and was at last detected in an adulterous intrigue[3] with D. Silanus, and punished with banishment. It has been presumed that Ovid was drawn into the circle of this frivolous princess, which resulted in his ruin. How this came about is a matter of conjecture. A French critic, Cuvillier-Fleury, long ago suggested[4] that the poet had surprised Julia with one of her lovers, and had the bad taste to treat the matter as a joke. His friends and domestics afterwards talked of the adventure, and the emperor punished the poet's curiosity with exile.

Those who think that Ovid was punished for complicity in Julia's adultery seek to support their view by the words with which he addresses his Muse, T. IV. 1. 25

> scilicet hoc ipso nunc aequa, quod obfuit ante,
> cum mecum iuncti criminis acta rea est,

which is interpreted to mean, 'indeed the very reason that she is now propitious is because she formerly injured me, when she was arraigned on a charge which was brought against me also'; this is held to imply a connexion between the two charges against Ovid, the authorship of the Ars Amatoria and the unknown offence, each being concerned with adultery.[5] But this is far-fetched. It is simpler and more natural to suppose that the poet merely asserts that the charge of encouraging adultery brought against the Ars Amatoria involved both the poet and his book:

[1] Masson, Ov. vit. p. 88. Dyer, Classical Museum IV. (1847), pp. 229-47. Munro, Criticisms and Elucidations of Catullus, p. 185. Schanz, Gesch. röm. Litt. II. 1. 268. Ehwald, Symb. Ov. II. 20.

[2] Schol. Iuv. 6. 158.

[3] Though Julia was a widow her act is described as adultery, Tac. A. III. 24; IV. 71. Plin. N. H. VII. 149.

[4] Revue de Paris, XIV, p. 200.

[5] So Schanz II. 1. 268.

therefore his Muse had injured him, but now she seeks to make amends by continuing her inspiration.[1]

A more subtle theory than that of Cuvillier-Fleury is propounded by Boissier in his brilliant book L'Opposition sous les Césars.[2] He considers that Ovid abetted the intrigue of the younger Julia. His popularity as the fashionable poet of love[3] may have caused the lovers to seek in him a pleasant and amusing confidant, who was not likely to trouble them with scruples. At first he was mistaken as to the relations of Julia and Silanus. This was his error and his folly. When his eyes were opened he refused to speak. This was his timidity. He should have cautioned the young people or warned the emperor, instead of which he befriended their intrigue. Some orgy took place at which the poet was present, an involuntary witness of a scene he did not foresee.[4] What had happened soon leaked out, possibly because some of those who had been present accused Ovid to divert blame from themselves, and through the malicious gossip of Ovid's servants.[5] Ovid's conduct was culpable, though he got no personal advantage from it.[6] When Augustus discovered the scandal he punished the offenders. Julia was relegated to the Apulian island Trimerus; Silanus was merely excluded from the emperor's friendship, which he understood as an invitation to go into voluntary exile, from which he did not return till after the accession of Tiberius;[7] while the unfortunate Ovid, the victim of the folly of others, was dispatched to the most dismal and disturbed frontier of the empire at the Danube's mouth. His crime was that he had assisted in the dishonour of the imperial house. Boissier regards the Ars Amatoria as the real cause of his punishment, and the rest as merely the pretext, seized upon, when it arrived, by the offended sovereign, who resented the thwarting of his moral policy.[8]

[1] So Loers 'velut socia criminis mei (scriptae artis) damnata est', and Némethy more briefly '*mecum iuncti criminis*, communis criminis, i. e. Artis Amatoriae'. Cp. T. III. 14. 17 'tres mihi sunt nati contagia nostra secuti', i. e. which shared in the guilt which ruined me.

[2] p. 140 foll. [3] T. II. 5. [4] T. II. 103.

[5] T. IV. 10. 101–2. [6] T. III. 6. 34.

[7] Schol. Iuv. 6. 158 'Iuliam neptem Augusti significat, quae nupta Aemilio Paulo, cum is maiestatis crimine perisset, ab avo relegata est. post revocata cum semet vitiis addixisset, perpetuo exilio damnata est'. Suet. Aug. 65. Gardthausen, I. 3. 1254. [8] Boissier, p. 144.

Cartault and Ellis, also accepting the hypothesis that Ovid's ruin was connected with the affair of Julia, endeavour to add precision of incident. Cartault[1] supposes that Ovid was requested by common friends of Julia and himself to put at the disposal of two young lovers, whose names were suppressed, some house or garden of his own where they might meet, which he good-naturedly did; afterwards, in order to show their gratitude, the lovers invited him to an entertainment of which the principal ornament was not decency. There Ovid recognized the emperor's granddaughter, but, struck with terror at the responsibility he had incurred, he dared not inform the emperor, and so let events take their course. When Augustus discovered what had happened, he regarded Ovid as the instigator, since he had countenanced the licentiousness of his granddaughter. As a teacher of love he had passed from theory to practice. The offence amounted to 'laesa maiestas', a capital crime. That is why Ovid feared the sentence of capital punishment. Augustus banished Ovid, and remained inflexible. It is obvious that this theory, which is expounded with admirable lucidity, cannot be regarded as more than mere conjecture.

Ellis[2] imagines that Julia profaned the temple of Isis with her illicit amours, just as later it was profaned in the reign of Tiberius by Mundus and Paulina.[3] The evil reputation of the temple of Isis,[4] and the recurring metaphors under which, in the poems of his exile, Ovid speaks of his misfortune as a wound ripped up and reopened,[5] or as a shipwreck,[6] are the slender evidence on which this hypothesis is based. It is true that the reopening of old wounds formed part of the debased Roman worship of Isis,[7] and Isis was the patron goddess of seafaring, to whom shipwrecked sailors offered vows for their deliverance,[8] but for that reason to read into Ovid's simple metaphors a series of veiled

[1] Encore les causes de la rélégation d'Ovide. Mélanges Chatelain, p. 42 foll.

[2] Ibis, p. xxviii foll. The Second Book of Ovid's Tristia (1913), p. 10 foll.

[3] Iosephus, Antiq. XVIII. 3.

[4] Am. II. 2. 25. A. A. I. 77. Iuv. 6. 489. Marquardt, Staatsv. III. 80. There was a temple of Isis on the Capitol, Janssen, Suet. Dom. p. 5.

[5] T. I. 1. 99; III. 11. 63. P. I. 3. 15, &c.

[6] T. I. 6. 7; IV. 5. 6; V. 11. 13, &c.

[7] Firmic. Matern. 2.

[8] Tibull. I. 3. 27. Iuv. 12. 28.

allusions to an abomination perpetrated in the temple of Isis is not only at least dubious guess-work, but presumes what is incredible, that the poet with his ingenious imagery sought persistently to remind his august sovereign of his granddaughter's depravity.

Indeed for this reason the theory of Boissier and of all those who connect Ovid with Julia's adultery must be rejected. If so delicate a matter as the moral turpitude of the imperial family was concerned, Ovid could not have been permitted or have ventured to write a single word which might seem to allude to it. And yet in P. II. 2. 73

> adde nurum neptesque pias natosque nepotum
> ceteraque Augustae membra valere domus,

he speaks of the 'good granddaughters' of Augustus. It is true that strictly the persons here intended are (1) the daughter-in-law (nurum) of Augustus, Antonia, the widow of his adopted son Drusus, (2) his granddaughters (neptes), Agrippina the elder, his own granddaughter, and Livilla, the granddaughter of Livia, and (3) his grandsons (natos nepotum), the children of Germanicus and Drusus.[1] Julia, Augustus' granddaughter then disgraced, was not here in Ovid's mind, since, by her sentence, she might be considered to have suffered civil death and to have forfeited her relationship in the eye of the law.[2] But if Ovid's ruin was really associated with that of Julia, no reader of poems which must have circulated in the imperial court could have encountered the incongruous epithet 'pias' applied to the granddaughters of Augustus without laughing, when he thought of the wayward Julia who, despite legal fiction, was in reality a granddaughter of Augustus. A nice sort of 'pietas' was that which this granddaughter displayed to her grandfather![3]

Also the theory must be rejected since it fails to explain why Ovid, the least guilty of the three culprits, was punished the most severely. This, Boissier suggests, was because the affair of Julia was merely the pretext, the real cause of Ovid's disgrace being the

[1] Ehwald, Kritische Beiträge z. Ovids Epp. ex P. p. 54.

[2] The 'relegatio in insulam', which Julia suffered, was practically equivalent to 'deportatio'. So Tac. A. III. 68 'aqua atque igni Silano interdicendum censuit ipsumque in insulam Gyarum relegandum'. Suet. Calig. 29 'relegatis sororibus non solum insulas habere se, sed etiam gladios minabatur'. Plin. Ep. III. 9. 33 (Mayor's note). Pauly-Wissowa v. exilium, p. 1684, v. relegatio, p. 564. 'Deportatio' involved loss of civic status.

[3] E. Thomas, Revue de Philologie 13 (1889), p. 47 foll.

emperor's deep resentment at the Ars Amatoria.[1] Now Ovid, who is very adroit in his own defence, expresses just surprise that the punishment for his book was deferred till ten years after its publication.[2] If Augustus was really so angry, having the will, he had the power to punish, and would surely have punished earlier. And it is improbable that, however much he disapproved, Augustus can have seen in Ovid's frivolous and sensuous poem an agent sufficiently powerful to interfere with his moral reforms and call for so cruel a punishment. Louis XIV did not send La Fontaine to the Bastille for writing Joconde.[3] Moreover, the gross disproportion in the punishments could not have gone unnoticed even in that age. Yet Ovid, who casts around for every argument in his favour, never makes any allusion to such disproportion, never utters any protest.

Also the hypothesis that the indiscretion of others contributed to Ovid's fall cannot be substantiated. It is based on T. IV. 10. 99

> causa meae cunctis nimium quoque nota ruinae
> indicio non est testificanda meo.
> quid referam comitumque nefas famulosque nocentes?
> ipsa multa tuli non leviora fuga.

This is interpreted to mean that Ovid was betrayed by some of those who were present at the fatal scene, and by the mischievous gossip of his servants. But nowhere else in the poems of his exile does Ovid complain of an indiscretion committed at his expense, nor of accomplices who had been spared, while he had been made to suffer for the fault of others. When his patron Cotta Maximus questioned him about the report as to his guilt which had spread quickly and reached Ilva along with the news of his sentence, he accused no one of having betrayed him.[4] On the other hand he frequently complains that he had been abandoned in his disgrace by most of his many friends.[5] This failure of fidelity is what he characterizes as 'comitum nefas' the impiety of friends,[6] who, spurning what amounted to a religious

[1] L'Opposition, p. 144. [2] T. II. 545.

[3] Nageotte, Ovide, sa vie, ses œuvres, p. 194.

[4] P. II. 3. 85 foll.

[5] T. I. 5. 33; III. 5. 9; V. 4. 35. P. II. 3. 29. Thus he says bitterly T. I. 9. 5 'donec eris sospes, multos numerabis amicos: tempora si fuerint nubila, solus eris'.

[6] Cp. T. I. 9. 35 'est etiam miseris pietas'.

duty, deserted him in his trouble. The word 'nefas' implies the violation of the religious duty of fidelity in misfortune. 'Res est sacra miser' says Seneca;[1] and similarly Ovid, T. I. 8. 15

> illud amicitiae sanctum et venerabile nomen
> re tibi pro vili est sub pedibusque iacet.

The expression 'famulos nocentes' refers not to the blabbing tongues of his servants but to their robbery of his goods which took place on the course of his journey into exile, to which he refers, P. II. 7. 61

> recta fides comitum poterat mala nostra levare:
> ditata est spoliis perfida turba meis.[2]

Ovid who, having inherited his father's property on the death of his brother, was presumably not poor,[3] took with him into exile a retinue of servants, whom he here terms 'comites', not 'famuli', because he is considering not their social status but the fact that they travelled with him. Therefore that Ovid was betrayed by disloyal friends and gossiping servants is an unsound hypothesis. What he says is that his friends deserted him and his servants proved criminal (nocentes) by pilfering his goods.[4]

For these reasons it does not seem possible to connect the offence of Ovid with the immoral conduct of the princess Julia. It is highly improbable that Ovid, who was temperate in his habits,[5] and delicate in health,[6] and was married to a wife, whom he seems to have loved and in any case respected, could have entangled himself with so foolish a young woman as the younger Julia.

The source of Ovid's misfortune must be sought elsewhere, and was probably political rather than domestic. The problem which exercised Augustus during his declining years was the question of the succession. His able son-in-law Agrippa, the husband of his daughter Julia, and his two young grandsons Gaius and Lucius Caesar, had been removed by death. Agrippa Postumus, the last child of Julia, the remaining grandson who survived, displayed a violent and ungovernable temper, which did not fit him to rule. Therefore Augustus adopted Tiberius, the capable but unattractive son of his consort Livia by her former husband, and marked him

[1] Epigr. 4. 9. Baehrens, P. L. M. IV. 20. 9.
[2] Cp. P. IV. 8. 32 'carpsit opes illa ruina meas'.
[3] Leopold, Exulum Trias, p. 141.
[4] S. Reinach, Revue de Philologie 34 (1910), p. 345.
[5] P. I. 10. 29–33. [6] T. I. 5. 72. P. I. 5. 51.

out as his successor, though at the same time he adopted Agrippa Postumus, whose claim was thus not entirely excluded. Livia, the powerful and tenacious empress, who inherited by her birth the proud spirit of her Claudian ancestors, was anxious that the throne should pass from the Julii to the Claudii, and that her son Tiberius should be the next ruler. That this would happen seemed to be now virtually assured. But there was the menacing shadow of Agrippa Postumus always in the background. He had offended Augustus by claiming the inheritance due from his father Agrippa,[1] to which he had no right, as Agrippa had made Augustus his sole heir. The quarrel was fomented by injudicious friends, one of whom published in the name of the young prince a defiant letter to the emperor.[2] The result was that Augustus did what Livia wanted, and in A.D. 7 by a decree of the senate banished his last grandson from Rome.[3] He sent him first to Surrentum, and later, to be kept in closer imprisonment, to the small island of Planasia, half-way between Corsica and the mainland.[4] Thus the Claudii seemed to have triumphed over the Julii in the struggle for the succession, and the last of the Julii, after the confiscation of his estate, was thrust out from the imperial family to make way for Tiberius as the indispensable successor. But Agrippa had partisans.[5] An abortive plot was discovered to abduct him and his mother Julia from the islands in which they were confined and put them under the protection of the legions;[6] the only result of which was probably that Agrippa was kept in closer confinement. But there is a story that, when Augustus felt his end approaching, the tie of blood proved stronger than the wishes of Livia or welfare of the state. The old man could not stifle his affection for his wayward and obstinate grandson. About a year before his death, at some time after April A.D. 13 when he drew up his will leaving Agrippa unmentioned among his heirs,[7] he determined to see his banished grandson once again. But he seems to have feared the jealousy of Livia, who would certainly assume that the succession might again be called in question. He therefore made his preparations with caution so as to elude observation, and, attended only by one trusted friend Paulus

[1] Dio LV. 32. [2] Suet. Aug. 51.
[3] Tac. A. I. 6. [4] Suet. Aug. 65. Dio LV. 32.
[5] Gardthausen, Augustus u. s. Zeit, p. 1252. [6] Suet. Aug. 19.
[7] Gardthausen, II. 3. 845, note 11.

Fabius Maximus, went to Planasia. The interview was marked by emotion and tears on both sides, and must have ended with a promise of the speedy recall of Agrippa.[1] Though such reports about this meeting as were suffered to become public are obscure, Gardthausen thinks that the fact cannot be doubted,[2] and that it is possible that, if Augustus had lived longer, he would have recalled his grandson. But the secret leaked out. Fabius told it to his wife Marcia, who was a cousin of Augustus,[3] and she informed Livia of Augustus' visit. Fabius died soon afterwards, it was suspected not by natural causes, and Marcia was said to have accused herself at her husband's funeral of having been the cause of his death.[4] Paulus Fabius Maximus was the most influential of Ovid's patrons, on whose advocacy the poet chiefly based his hope of

[1] Tac. A. I. 5 'quippe rumor incesserat paucos ante mensis Augustum, electis consciis et comite uno Fabio Maximo, Planasiam vectum ad visendum Agrippam; multas illic utrimque lacrimas et signa caritatis spemque ex eo fore ut iuvenis penatibus avi redderetur: quod Maximum uxori Marciae aperuisse, illam Liviae. gnarum id Caesari; neque multo post extincto Maximo, dubium an quaesita morte, auditos in funere eius Marciae gemitus semet incusantis quod causa exitii marito fuisset'.

[2] Augustus u. s. Zeit, I. 3. 1253.

[3] Marcia was the daughter of the younger Atia, the sister of the elder Atia, who was the mother of Augustus. C. I. G. 2629 *Μαρκίᾳ Φιλίππου θυγατρί, ἀνεψιᾷ Καίσαρος θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, γυναικὶ Παύλου Φαβίου Μαξίμου, Σεβαστῆς Πάφου ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος.* Ov. F. VI. 801 'clari monumenta Philippi aspicis, unde trahit Marcia casta genus'. Peter, Ovid's Fasti, part ii, p. 105.

[4] Augustus' interview with Agrippa Postumus is recorded in Tac. A. I. 5 (quoted above). Dio LVI. 30 *ὁ δ' οὖν Αὔγουστος νοσήσας μετήλλαξε· καί τινα ὑποψίαν τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ ἡ Λιουῖα ἔλαβεν, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τὸν Ἀγρίππαν κρύφα εἰς τὴν νῆσον διέπλευσε καὶ ἐδόκει οἱ παντάπασι καταλλαγήσεσθαι. δείσασα γάρ, ὥς φασι, μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ μονοαρχίᾳ αὐτὸν καταγάγῃ* etc. Plutarch, de garrulitate 11 (where Fulvius is apparently a mistake for Fabius) *ἐλθόντος οὖν ἔωθεν, ὡς εἰώθει, τοῦ Φουλβίου πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ εἰπόντος "Χαῖρε, Καῖσαρ", "Ὑγίαινε", εἶπε, "Φουλβιε." κἀκεῖνος νοήσας ᾤχετ' εὐθὺς ἀπιὼν οἰκάδε, καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα μεταπεμψάμενος "ἔγνωκεν", ἔφη, "Καῖσαρ, ὅτι τὸ ἀπόρρητον οὐκ ἐσιώπησα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μέλλω ἀναιρεῖν ἐμαυτόν." ἡ δὲ γυνὴ "δικαίως", εἶπεν, "ὅτι μοι τοσοῦτον συνοικῶν χρόνον οὐκ ἔγνως οὐδ' ἐφυλάξω τὴν ἀκρασίαν· ἀλλ' ἔασον ἐμὲ προτέραν." καὶ λαβοῦσα τὸ ξίφος ἑαυτὴν προανεῖλε τοῦ ἀνδρός.* Plin. N. H. VII. 150 'abdicatio Postumi Agrippae post adoptionem, desiderium post relegationem, inde suspicio in Fabium arcanorumque proditionem, hinc uxoris et Tiberi cogitationes, suprema eius cura'. Aurel. Victor Epit. i. 27 'Nolae morbo interiit, quamquam alii scribant dolo Liviae extinctum metuentis ne, quia privignae filium Agrippam, quem odio novercali in insulam relegaverat, reduci compererat, eo summas rerum adepto, poenas daret'. Gardthausen, II. 3. 846.

pardon.[1] An intimate friend of Augustus, he was a statesman and orator of repute. Ovid praises his eloquence.[2] He was a man of culture,[3] and is mentioned by Juvenal[4] along with Maecenas as a patron of letters. Ovid's third wife was a dependant of his house, and a companion of his wife Marcia, and had been a member of the household of Atia, the mother of Marcia and aunt of Augustus.[5]

Némethy, accepting the story of the meeting at Planasia for fact, supposes that Ovid knew of the report that Fabius had been forced to die because he had used his offices to reconcile Augustus and Agrippa, and reproached himself with having contributed to bring about his patron's death, because he supposed that Fabius had at the same time attempted to secure his own recall as well as that of Agrippa.[6] In this light he interprets P. IV. 6. 9–16

> certus eras pro me, Fabiae laus, Maxime, gentis,
> numen ad Augustum supplice voce loqui.

[1] P. IV 6. 9. See my edition of Tristia, Book I, p. xxxvi.

[2] P. I. 2. 117; II. 3. 75.

[3] He is the 'centum puer artium' of Horace, Carm. IV. 1. 15.

[4] Iuv. 7. 95.

[5] Ovid's third wife to whom, besides T. V. 5, in which he celebrates her birthday, he addresses six letters of the Tristia, I. 6; III. 3; IV. 3; V. 2. 1–44; V. 11; V. 14, and two of the Epp. ex Ponto, I. 4; III. 1, was not, as is usually stated (Ribbeck, Gesch. d. röm. Dichtung, II. 228. Schanz II. 1. 267. Plessis, Poésie lat. 412. Wight Duff, Lit. Hist. of Rome 583), a relation of his patron Fabius Maximus, but was a trusted and confidential dependant of his wife Marcia, and had formerly belonged to the household of the younger Atia. This appears from P. I. 2. 136–40 'ille ego de vestra cui data nupta domo est. hanc probat et primo dilectam semper ab aevo | est inter comites Marcia censa suas, inque suis habuit matertera Caesaris ante: | quarum iudicio siqua probata, proba est'. Ovid says that she was given to him in marriage not 'de vestra gente' but 'de vestra domo', viz. from the household of Fabius and Marcia. He speaks of his wife as a dependant of Fabius and Marcia, ibid. 145–8 'coniunx mea sarcina vestra est: | non potes hanc salva dissimulare fide. confugit haec ad vos, vestras amplectitur aras: | iure venit cultos ad sibi quisque deos'. P. III. 1. 75 'hoc domui debes, de qua censeris, ut illam, non magis officiis quam probitate colas. | cuncta licet facias, nisi eris laudabilis uxor, non poterit credi Marcia culta tibi.' Némethy, Trist. Excursus I, p. 129 foll. Pauly-Wissowa v. Fabius, p. 1788.

[6] Némethy, Comm. exeg. ad Ovidii Tristia, p. 133 foll. A connexion between the exiles of Agrippa and of Ovid had already been traced by Withof (1751) and Merkel (1837), Prolus. ad Ibin, p. 391, whom Némethy does not mention, and by Villenave (1805), whom he does.

occidis ante preces, causamque ego, Maxime, mortis
(nec fuero tanti) me reor esse tuae.
iam timeo nostram cuiquam mandare salutem :
ipsum morte tua concidit auxilium.
coeperat Augustus deceptae ignoscere culpae :
spem nostram terras deseruitque simul.

Némethy supposes that Ovid joined his fortunes with those of Agrippa, with whom through Fabius and Marcia he had become acquainted, and that when Augustus banished Agrippa, Ovid associated himself with others who formed some scheme for the young prince's deliverance, the discovery of which turned the anger of Augustus on himself. The guilty act of which he was the witness though not the instigator,[1] and the danger which he asserts results, as in his case, from exalted friendships,[2] are thus explained.

Némethy supports his theory by an ingenious conjecture. In P. IV. 6. 14

ipsum morte tua concidit auxilium

he proposes to read 'constitit' for 'concidit'. 'I fear now (says Ovid) to ask any one to help me, for your actual attempt to help me cost you your death.' The Latinity of the conjecture is unimpeachable, for the ablative of price paid with 'constare' may express things other than mere monetary price: Lucan II. 16 'quantis sit cladibus orbi constatura fides superum'. Mart. XIII. 95. 2 'saevus oryx constat quot mihi morte canum'. Iuv. 14. 258 'quanto capitis discrimine constent incrementa domus'. Also the expression to cost one his death is as legitimate as to cost one his life: P. III. 1. 105 'si mea mors redimenda tua, quod abominor, esset'. Caes. B. G. I. 44. 12 'quorum omnium gratiam atque amicitiam eius morte redimere posset'. But the conjecture is superfluous, since 'concidit' ('has collapsed') makes good sense. 'Through your death (says Ovid) actual help for me is at an end.' The use of the word is similar in Lucr. IV. 507 'non modo enim ratio ruat omnis, vita quoque ipsa concidat extemplo, nisi credere sensibus ausis'. Sen. Contr. I. 8. 3 'non oportet tantam virtutem sine successore concidere'. Tac. H. II. 57 'morte Othonis concidisse bellum accepit'. So more literally T. II. 317 '(Troia) Argolicis . . . concidit armis'. M. XV. 421 'illas adsumere robora gentes, concidere has'.[3]

[1] T. II. 103; III. 5. 49. [2] T. III. 4. 3-8.

[3] I may remark that in the next line, P. IV. 6. 15

coeperat Augustus deceptae ignoscere culpae

But the story of Augustus' visit to Agrippa, on which Némethy's theory depends, is mentioned merely as a rumour by Tacitus, and cannot safely be accepted as a fact on which to build conclusions. It is more likely a concoction of political gossip suggested by the friendship of Fabius with Augustus, and of Marcia with Livia, the sudden death of Fabius followed at a short interval by that of Augustus himself, and the murder of Agrippa immediately after the accession of Tiberius.[1] We know from the acts of the Arval Brothers that on May 14, A.D. 14, the members of the imperial family being absent from Rome, Fabius had given his voice for the election of Drusus Caesar to the Arval Brotherhood.[2] Fabius must have died between that day and the death of Augustus on August 19, A.D. 14. It is not likely that so trusted a friend of Augustus should at the same time have been openly supporting his dynastic policy while secretly scheming to upset it. When on receiving the news of Fabius' death Ovid reproaches himself with being the cause of it, he speaks with poetical exaggeration. Even to be known as his friend Ovid fears is now fatal to his friends.

Ovid did not intend his secret to be revealed, and unrevealed it must remain. It seems, however, probable that his unknown action was political and gave offence to Livia and Tiberius. In a letter to Cotta Maximus, thanking him for the gift of a likeness in relief of Augustus Livia and Tiberius,[3] he ventures timidly to appeal to Tiberius, P. II. 8. 37

> et tua, si fas est, a Caesare proxime Caesar,
> numina sint precibus non inimica meis;

and to Livia, ibid. 43

> tu quoque, conveniens ingenti nupta marito,
> accipe non dura supplicis aure preces.

'deceptae culpae' i. q. 'errori meo', means 'per deceptionem et errorem perpetratae' (Cnipping, Ovid. ed. 1670: cp. T. I. 3. 37 'quis me deceperit error'. P. II. 2. 61) 'my guilt brought about by my mistake'. For 'decipere' i. q. 'decipiendo efficere' cp. Stat. Silv. II. 1. 97 'deceptaque funera matris', the death of his mother Semele brought about by the deception of Juno. So I understand the difficult expression about Flaminius caught by an ambush at the Trasymene lake, Liv. XXII. 4. 4 'ab tergo ac super caput deceptae insidiae', 'the ambush set by deception in his rear and above him'.

[1] Tac. A. I. 6.

[2] C. I. L. VI. 2023 a 17 Pauly-Wissowa v. Fabius 1785.

[3] P. II. 8. 1–4. The representations in silver, P. II. 8. 5 'argentum felix omnique beatius auro', seem to have been reliefs rather than a coin. Ehwald, Kritische Beiträge, p. 77. Jahresbericht LXXXIII. 3.

But he writes in a despairing spirit, for the features in relief wear an angry look, ibid. 21

> fallor an irati mihi sunt in imagine vultus,
> torvaque nescioquid forma minantis habet?

Addressing his wife, who from the tone of the letter seems to have been rather lukewarm in his interests, he once asks her to seek for Livia's intervention in his favour. But he recommends great caution in approaching the empress. All reference to Ovid's fatal act must be avoided, and only a milder place of exile must be asked for: P. III. 1. 97

> numen adorandum est, non ut mihi fiat amicum,
> sed sit ut iratum, quam fuit ante, minus.

Ibid. 119

> quid trepidas et adire times? non inpia Procne
> filiave Aeetae voce movenda tua est, . . .
> femina sed princeps, in qua Fortuna videre
> se probat et caecae crimina falsa tulit.

Ibid. 129

> eligito tempus captatum saepe rogandi,
> exeat adversa ne tua navis aqua.
> non semper sacras reddunt oracula sortis,
> ipsaque non omni tempore fana patent.

Ibid. 147

> nec factum defende meum: mala causa silenda est.
> nil nisi sollicitae sint tua verba preces.
> tum lacrimis demenda mora est, summissaque terra
> ad non mortalis brachia tende pedes.
> tum pete nil aliud, saevo nisi ab hoste recedam:
> hostem Fortunam sit satis esse mihi.

After the accession of Tiberius, Ovid's friends seem to have ventured no more to beg for his pardon. He himself seems to have abandoned hope, though in a letter to Suillius,[1] written after the death of Augustus,[2] he asks that Germanicus shall intervene on his behalf, but only to procure him a nearer and milder place of exile.[3] Also in a letter to his influential patron Sextus Pompeius, consul with Sextus Appuleius in A.D. 14 the year of Augustus'

[1] P. IV. 8.
[2] P. IV. 8. 63.
[3] P. IV. 8. 25, 83–6.

death,[1] he appears to ask him to intercede with Tiberius for mercy, P. IV. 15. 23

> quod quoniam in dis est, tempta lenire precando
> numina, perpetua quae pietate colis.

By the plural 'numina' it is natural to understand Tiberius and Livia and the young prince Germanicus. But this is not certain, for in a letter to Suillius he says, P. IV. 8. 21

> tu modo, si quid agi sperabis posse precando,
> quos colis, exora supplice voce deos.
> di tibi sunt Caesar iuvenis. tua numina placa.
> hac certe nulla est notior ara tibi.

Here by 'numina' Germanicus alone is intended, and it is possible that he alone is intended in the passage of the letter to Pompeius. Ovid speaks of Sextus Pompeius as being an intimate friend of Germanicus, P. IV. 5. 23

> aut feret Augusto solitam natoque salutem,
> deque parum noto consulet officio.
> tempus ab his vacuum Caesar Germanicus omne
> auferet: a magnis hunc colit ille deis.

Pompeius showed his attachment to Germanicus by declining to defend Piso when charged with having compassed his death.[2]

Though three of Ovid's most powerful patrons, M. Valerius Messallinus,[3] M. Aurelius Cotta Messallinus,[4] and L. Pomponius Flaccus,[5] were adherents of Tiberius, it is noticeable that several of his more intimate friends seem to have belonged to the party of Germanicus. Suillius, addressed in P. IV. 8, who married a daughter of Ovid's third wife by a former husband, had been quaestor to Germanicus,[6] and Ovid appeals to him to interest Germanicus on his behalf.[7] His friend Carus, addressed in P. IV. 13, a poet, the author of a Heracleis,[8] was tutor to the sons of Germanicus.[9] Albinovanus Pedo, addressed in P. IV. 10, an epic poet,[10] one of the officers of Germanicus in Germany, was

[1] P. IV. 5 (on Pompeius' consulship). P. IV. 1 and 4 are also addressed to Pompeius.
[2] Tac. A. III. 11.
[3] See my Tristia, Book I, p. xxxi.
[4] ibid. p. xxxiv.
[5] ibid. p. xl.
[6] Tac. A. IV. 31.
[7] P. IV. 8. 23 foll.
[8] P. IV. 13. 11; 16. 7. Schanz, II. 1. 363.
[9] P. IV. 13. 47.
[10] Schanz, II. 1. 365.

with him in the destructive storm which overtook his fleet at the end of the campaign of A.D. 16.[1] This disaster he described in epic verse, a fragment of which is preserved by M. Seneca.[2] Salanus, addressed in P. II. 5, a man of literary culture, was the instructor of Germanicus in rhetoric.[3] One letter is addressed to Germanicus himself, P. II. 1. In it Ovid celebrates the triumph A.D. 13 of Tiberius after the Pannonian war, in which Germanicus distinguished himself, and prophesies a similar future triumph for Germanicus.[4] A further indication of Ovid's connexion with Germanicus, on whom he rested his hopes of recall, is the fact that after the death of Augustus he began a revision of the Fasti, originally dedicated to Augustus, and prefixed to it the new dedication to Germanicus with which Book I opens. This revision is probably alluded to in a letter written soon after Augustus' death, P. IV. 8. 65

> siquid adhuc igitur vivi, Germanice, nostro
> restat in ingenio, serviet omne tibi.

These indications point to the conclusion that Ovid incurred the displeasure of Tiberius and Livia through his association with the friends of Germanicus,[5] the brilliant and accomplished nephew of Tiberius whom, on account of his popularity, he dreaded and distrusted as a possible rival.[6] Ovid may have been imprudently present at some secret meeting at which the enthusiastic admirers of Germanicus said or did things which were regarded as a menace to the claim of Tiberius to the succession.[7]

Or it is possible that he witnessed some 'fatal act'[8] which happened in high society, and which perhaps affecting even the life of Augustus was designed to transfer the succession from the son of Livia, Tiberius, to the grandson of Augustus,

[1] Tac. A. I. 60; II. 23. [2] Suas. I. 15. Baehrens, F. P. R. 351.

[3] P. II. 5. 41

> te iuvenum princeps, cui dat Germania nomen,
> participem studii Caesar habere solet.
> tu comes antiquus, tu primis iunctus ab annis
> ingenio mores aequiperante places.

Salanus is no doubt the Cassius Salanus whom Pliny calls the 'praeceptor' of Germanicus, N. H. XXXIV. 47. Ehwald, Krit. Beiträge 38.

[4] Gardthausen, II. 3. 834.

[5] These friendships are possibly alluded to in T. III. 4. 4 'vive tibi et longe nomina magna fuge. vive tibi, quantumque potes, praelustria vita'.

[6] Tac. A. I. 7. [7] Plessis, Poésie latine, p. 418.

[8] 'funestum malum.' T. III. 6. 28.

Agrippa Postumus. It has been suggested that this act was some magical process, perhaps initiated by the princess Julia, by which the speedy death of Augustus and accession of Agrippa were forecasted.[1] Divination was not included among crimes by the law of treason under Augustus; and incantations were punishable only when they had done harm. For this reason Ovid could say that he had done nothing unlawful.[2] Yet Augustus discouraged such practices by the burning of prophetical books and suppression of soothsayers and magicians.[3] Under Tiberius the law was made more severe; to consult astrologers about the life of the emperor or a member of his family was treated as a treasonable offence.[4]

On the whole it seems likely that Ovid incurred the hostility of Tiberius and Livia because he had appeared to interfere with their dynastic aims. In that case a satisfactory solution is provided of two problems which have caused difficulty to those who connect Ovid's disgrace with that of the younger Julia, the disproportionate punishment meted out to Ovid, and the fact that, after the accession of Tiberius, so far from securing pardon, he abandoned hope.[5] The fact that of the three culprits Ovid was punished most severely Boissier thinks is explained by the anterior rancour of Augustus on account of the Ars Amatoria, which was the real offence.[6] But this suggestion fails to account for the relentless attitude of Tiberius. Cartault holds that Tiberius remained implacable because he had suffered too much through the unchastity of his wife, the elder Julia, to interest

[1] Salomon Reinach, Revue de Philologie (1910) 34, p. 342 foll.

[2] P. II. 9. 71 'nec quicquam, quod lege vetor committere, feci'.

[3] Suet. Aug. 31. Dio LII. 36; LVI. 25. Marquardt, Staatsverw. III. 91 foll.

[4] Thus among the 'maiestatis crimina' against Lepida was included 'quaesitum per Chaldaeos in domum Caesaris' Tac. A. III. 22. See Mommsen, Strafrecht, p. 584. In the time of the jurists divination was still a capital offence: Paulus Sent. V. 21 'qui de salute principis vel summa reipublicae mathematicos hariolos haruspices vaticinatores consulit, cum eo, qui responderit, capite puniatur'. Paulus wrote under Severus and Caracalla. Seakel-Kuebler, Iurisprud. anteiust. reliquiae II. 1. 4. Roby, Intr. to Digest, p. ccii.

[5] In the last letter of his exile poems Ovid utters his last cry of despair at his remorseless fate: P. IV. 16. 49

omnia perdidimus: tantummodo vita relicta est,
praebeat ut sensum materiamque mali.

[6] L'Opposition, p. 144.

himself in any one who was concerned in the irregularities of her daughter.[1] But this assumes (which is improbable) that the cold and cynical Tiberius would trouble himself about so remote a thing as a humble abettor of the intrigues of the daughter of his divorced wife by her former husband. But if on the other hand Ovid was held to have ranged himself with those who opposed his claim to sovereignty, it is natural that Tiberius should suffer him to languish in exile unforgiven.

Augustus was a great and prudent statesman, but in the pursuit of his political ends remorseless. His boasted clemency was not allowed to interfere with his personal interests. It is a black stain on his character that when quite a young man he did not scruple to sacrifice Cicero, the greatest of Roman orators and men of letters. It is a stain no less black that in his old age he consigned to permanent exile the last of the great Augustans, the most brilliant poet of the period, and by a refinement of cruelty placed him in a district so barbarous,[2] so insecure, and so inclement that this seems to have been deliberately designed to arrest and freeze forever his generous stream of inspiration. In his earlier life Augustus had been a sympathetic patron of letters ; at its close he showed himself an unforgiving despot, who did not hesitate for his private ends to rob his country and the world of an incomparable fount of poetry. What might not Ovid have achieved if he had not been expelled from Rome? It is impossible to believe that he was important enough to deserve the blow. The delicate pleasure-loving poet could not have checked the policy of Augustus or the aspirations of Tiberius. And what a poet was sacrificed in Ovid, a poet supreme in grace and lucidity and rich imagination! I cannot do better than quote the discerning appreciation of his merits of one who is both a poet and a critic beyond question.

Of those poets 'who have created great imitation worlds with a coherence and a character of their own' Ovid 'is the type and prophet. I would almost call him the martyr of this faith ; a man who seems hardly to have lived at all except in the world of his imagination ; who tells us that even as a boy he could scarcely speak without falling into verse ; who sprang straight to a

[1] Mélanges Chatelain, p. 51.

[2] T. V. 10. 37

barbarus hic ego sum, qui non intellegor ulli,
et rident stolidi verba Latina Getae.

perfection of form which remained the unchallenged model of all similar poetry for centuries after; who poured forth his imaginative creations, his "copies of life", with such copiousness that the middle age and the renaissance went to him as to an inexhaustible quarry from which to build their houses and streets and cities; a man of unexampled popularity in his own day and of almost unexampled influence afterwards; Ovid is one towards whom the present generation has resolutely turned its blind spot. If he were archaic, or uncouth, or earnest, or nobly striving after ideals he cannot reach; if he were even difficult or eccentric, so as to make some claim upon us; we should doubtless be attracted to him and read him with our imaginations alert. But he does his work too well, he asks no indulgence; he is neat and swift and witty and does not need our help; consequently we have no use for him. I suspect we are wrong. . . . He was a poet utterly in love with poetry: not perhaps with the soul of poetry—to be in love with souls is a feeble and somewhat morbid condition—but with the real face and voice and body and clothes and accessories of poetry. He loved the actual technique of the verse. . . . He loved most the whole world of mimesis which he made. We hear that he was apprenticed to the law, but wrote verses instead of speeches. . . . He was always in love and never with any one in particular. He strikes one as having been rather innocent and almost entirely useless in this dull world which he had not made and for which he was not responsible, while he moved triumphant and effective through his own inexhaustible realm of legend. He came somehow under the displeasure of the government, and by a peculiar piece of cruelty was sent with all his helpless sweetness and sensuousness and none of the gifts of a colonist, to live in exile in that dreadful region

> Where slow Maeotis crawls, and scarcely flows
> The frozen Tanais through a waste of snows.

Where, like an anodyne for a gnawing pain, he tried to forget himself in verses and yet more verses, until he died.

'What a world is that he has created in the Metamorphoses! It draws its denizens from all the boundless resources of Greek Mythology, a world of live forests and mountains and rivers, in which every plant and flower has a story, and nearly always a love story; where the moon is indeed not a moon but an orbèd maiden,

and the Sunrise weeps because she is still young and her beloved is old; and the stars are human souls; and the Sun sees human virgins in the depths of forests and almost swoons at their beauty and pursues them; and other virgins, who feel in the same way about him, commit great sins from jealousy and then fling themselves on the ground in grief and fix their eyes on him, weeping and weeping till they waste away and turn into flowers; and all the youths and maidens are indescribably beautiful and adventurous and passionate, though not well brought up, and, I fear, somewhat lacking in the first elements of self-control; and they all fall in love with each other, or, failing that, with fountains or stars or trees; and are always met by enormous obstacles, and are liable to commit crimes and cause tragedies, but always forgive each other, or else die. A world of wonderful children where nobody is really cross or wicked except the grown-ups; Juno for instance, and people's parents, and of course a certain number of Furies and Witches. I think among all the poets who take rank merely as story-tellers and creators of mimic worlds, Ovid still stands supreme. His criticism of life is very slight; it is the criticism passed by a child, playing alone and peopling the summer evening with delightful shapes, upon the stupid nurse who drags it off to bed. And that, too, is a criticism that deserves attention.'[1]

It is no thanks to Augustus that posterity did not lose the Metamorphoses, that unique romantic poem of antiquity, and the Fasti, a storehouse of religious and antiquarian lore and of legends recounted with masterly simplicity. The Metamorphoses was unpublished when Ovid left Rome. He burnt his own manuscript in his disgust; but it was preserved through copies possessed by his friends and subsequently published. The composition of the Fasti was interrupted by his banishment; the work was never completed; the author's revising hand was stayed by death.[2]

The Ars Amatoria is undoubtedly a naughty poem, not so much on account of its subject-matter (this might have been properly treated by a satirist from a moral point of view) as on account of

[1] Gilbert Murray, Essays and Addresses, p. 115 foll.

[2] For the influence of the Metamorphoses on romantic poetry see my Essay, Ovid and Romance in English Literature and the Classics (Oxford, 1912), p. 167 foll. For the importance of the Fasti in the study of Roman religion see Mr. Cyril Bailey' Introduction to Ovid, Fasti, Book III (Oxford, 1921).

its method. Abounding in fancy and graceful expression, enlivened by numerous brilliant episodes, it was designed to amuse and allure the youth of Rome by its sprightliness. In the period of luxurious ease which succeeded the struggle of the civil wars the gallantries recommended by the poet were familiar facts of everyday occurrence. And there is justice in Ovid's plea that he did not teach adultery but only legitimate intrigue.[1] It was the novel audacity and charm of style of this 'professor of intrigue' that made his poem dangerous.[2] When the anger of Augustus was aroused by this witty burlesque of the serious, often heavy, didactic poetry then in vogue, a work which 'it may be argued is the greatest work of Ovid, on the same ground as Don Juan is regarded as the greatest of Byron's poems';[3] and when it was judicially pronounced to be so demoralizing as to call for the banishment of its author, the Roman public no less than the modern reader must have duly noted the inconsistency in the theoretical morality and the practice of the imperial autocrat.[4] Augustus, indeed, from this point of view differed only in degree from the odious Domitian, who lived in open sin with the wife of his brother Titus, and devoted himself to wanton indulgence with mistresses and minions, while he posed as a censor of morals, meting out severe punishment to adultery and forbidding castration.[5] For Augustus, the official custodian of propriety, wrote verses so shameless that Martial could allege them as a precedent to justify his own licentious epigrams;[6] and Augustus, the

[1] T. II. 241 foll. See Cicero, pro Caelio 42 'detur aliqui ludus aetati; sit adulescentia liberior; non omnia voluptatibus denegentur; . . . vincat aliquando cupiditas voluptasque rationem, dum modo illa in hoc genere praescriptio moderatioque teneatur . . . ne incurrat in alterius domum atque familiam; ne probrum castis, labem integris, infamiam bonis inferat'.

[2] A. A. I. 17 'ego sum praeceptor Amoris'. II. 161. 497 'lascivi praeceptor Amoris'. T. I. 1. 67.

[3] Sellar, Roman Poets of the Augustan Age, p. 341.

[4] That such was the Roman view may be conjectured from Aurelius Victor, Epit. i. 24 'cumque esset luxuriae serviens, erat tamen eiusdem vitii severissimus ultor, more hominum, qui in ulciscendis vitiis, quibus ipsi vehementer indulgent, acres sunt. nam et poetam Ovidium, qui et Naso, pro eo, quod tres libellos amatoriae artis conscripsit, exilio damnavit.' Cp. Plin. Ep. VIII. 22.

[5] Gsell, L'empereur Domitien, pp. 239–42.

[6] Martial XI. 20. Baehrens, F. P. L. 340. Pliny, Ep. V. 3. 5 includes Augustus in a catalogue of writers of 'versiculi parum severi'. He wrote Fescennini against Pollio. Macrob. Sat. II. 4. 21. Schanz, II. 1. 9.

reformer of morals, was notorious for his incontinence with women of high and humble station alike, so that it is recorded that his wife Livia, when asked how she maintained her influence over him, replied, amongst other reasons, that it was by deliberately closing her eyes to his perpetual frailties.[1] He even was entangled with Terentia, the wife of his friend Maecenas.[2] When Ovid pleads in his own defence that Augustus himself had permitted plays concerned with adultery to be performed in his presence, there is a note of irony in the tacit assumption that such misconduct would naturally arouse nothing but aversion in that majestic potentate.[3] Augustus no doubt enjoyed a risky play as much as any one else.

A consideration of the legal aspect of the two charges on which Ovid was condemned, the immorality of the Ars Amatoria and the unnamed offence, leads to the conclusion that both these charges were formulated under the head of 'maiestas'. Since Augustus strained the law so as to include under 'maiestas' adultery with members of his own family,[4] we may presume that it was argued in the first place that Ovid's teaching had contributed to corrupt

A cheerful poem on the pleasures of the table, ascribed to Augustus, is certainly ancient and may be by him. Baehrens, P. L. M. IV. 122. See W. H. Stevenson, Classical Quarterly, V. 264.

[1] Dio LVIII. 2 *πυθομένου τέ τινος αὐτῆς πῶς καὶ τί δρῶσα οὕτω τοῦ Αὐγούστου κατεκράτησεν, ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι αὐτή τε ἀκριβῶς σωφρονοῦσα, καὶ πάντα τὰ δοκοῦντα αὐτῷ ἡδέως ποιοῦσα, καὶ μήτε ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐκείνου πολυπραγμονοῦσα, καὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια αὐτοῦ ἀθύρματα μήτε διώκουσα, μήτε αἰσθάνεσθαι προσποιουμένη.* Suet. Aug. 71 'circa libidines haesit; postea quoque, ut ferunt, ad vitiandas virgines promptior, quae sibi undique etiam ab uxore conquirerentur'. Zonaras X. 39 *εὐκατάφορος πρὸς τὰ ἀφροδίσια ἦν, καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ἐκομίζοντο ἃς ἐβούλετο ἐν καταστέγοις φορείοις καὶ οὕτως εἰς τὸν αὐτοῦ εἰσήγοντο θάλαμον, ἐκεῖνος δὲ ταύτας εἰσῆγέ τε καὶ ἐκέχρητο.* Suet. Aug. 69. Dio LIV. 16. Gardthausen, II. 2. 638. The charges of effeminacy, discredited by Suetonius, may be dismissed. Suet. Aug. 68, 71. As Cicero says Cael. 6 'quod obiectum est de pudicitia . . . sunt ista maledicta pervolgata in omnis, quorum in adulescentia forma et species fuit liberalis'.

[2] Suet. Aug. 69. Dio LIV. 19. Gardthausen, I. 2. 776. In Birt's De amorum in arte antiqua simulacris et de pueris minutis apud antiquos in deliciis habitis (Marburg, 1892, p. xi foll.) a sinister and no doubt true interpretation, which is damaging to the character of Augustus, is given of Suet. Aug. 83 'talis aut ocellatis nucibusque ludebat cum pueris minutis, quos facie et garrulitate amabilis undique conquirebat, praecipue Mauros et Syros'.

[3] T. II 513–14.

[4] Tac. A. II. 50; III. 24. Mommsen, Strafrecht, 587.

the younger Julia, and that his influence through the Ars Amatoria had a baneful tendency which resulted in evil acts. This served as corroborative evidence of the second, the more serious charge of 'maiestas'. Wide latitude is implied as to the matters which might be taken into consideration in trials for 'maiestas' by the statement in the Digest that the character and antecedents of the incriminated person should be regarded.[1]

The more serious charge, relating to an offence affecting the emperor and his family, would certainly fall under the head of 'maiestas', and be proceeded against under the lex Iulia maiestatis.[2] In the time of Augustus the offence of 'maiestas' might be investigated by one of three tribunals; the decision as to which should try it rested ultimately with the emperor. It might be tried by an ordinary 'quaestio publica' of 'iudices' constituted under the lex Iulia.[3] Thus Antistius Vetus was tried and convicted of 'maiestas' by 'iudices'.[4] This is what Ovid means by

nec mea selecto iudice iussa fuga est.[5]

It might be tried by the senate sitting in its judicial capacity, usually presided over by the emperor in person. Most of the trials for 'maiestas' recorded by Tacitus were conducted before this tribunal. Thus were tried Granius Marcellus,[6] Varilla,[7] Piso,[8] Lepida,[9] Clutorius Priscus,[10] Silanus,[11] Silius,[12] Serenus,[13] Cremutius Cordus,[14] Montanus,[15] Considius Proculus,[16] at the last trial Tiberius not being present. This is what Ovid means by

nec mea decreto damnasti facta senatus.[17]

It might be tried, as was the case with Ovid, in his private court by the emperor personally, in virtue of the judicial authority which

[1] Dig. XLVIII. 4. 7. 3 'nam et personam spectandam esse, an potuerit facere, et an ante quid fecerit et an cogitaverit'.
[2] Dig. XLVIII. 4.
[3] Mommsen, Strafrecht, 129.
[4] Tac. A. III. 38.
[5] T. II. 132.
[6] Tac. A. I. 74.
[7] Tac. A. II. 50.
[8] Tac. A. III. 11.
[9] Tac. A. III. 22.
[10] Tac. A. III. 49.
[11] Tac. A. III. 67.
[12] Tac. A. IV. 19.
[13] Tac. A. IV. 28.
[14] Tac. A. IV. 34.
[15] Tac. A. IV. 42.
[16] Tac. A. VI. 18.
[17] T. II. 131. The sentence of exile on Agrippa Postumus was confirmed by a senatusconsultum. Suet. Aug. 65.

he derived from the possession of the 'imperium'. This is what Ovid means by

ultus es offensas, ut decet, ipse tuas.[1]

This process required no formal act of accusation, and could be instituted in virtue of information which the emperor himself possessed, or which was supplied to him by an informer.[2] Cases thus tried involved crimes considered grave and committed in high social spheres, in which the publicity of trial before the senate was undesirable. Hence they were tried by the emperor in his palace or even in his country villa.[3] If circumstances required they were heard in camera. Thus Asiaticus was tried 'intra cubiculum'.[4] Being without publicity and without appeal these trials became one of the chief engines of the imperial tyranny.[5]

The penalty for 'maiestas' fixed by the lex Iulia was 'aquae et ignis interdictio', accompanied usually by confiscation of property.[6] This penalty was inflicted on Lepida, without confiscation of property,[7] on Antistius Vetus, who was also confined in an island,[8] and on Silanus, who was confined in the island Gyarus, with confiscation of his property, though his mother's estate was exempted from confiscation and assigned to her other son.[9] The property was confiscated of Piso and Silius, who anticipated their sentence by suicide, though in Piso's case half the estate was handed over to his son.[10]

By the sentence of 'aquae et ignis interdictio' the culprit became an outlaw. It was a death sentence, which, however, by custom he evaded by surrendering his civic rights and withdrawing into exile. Being thus no longer a Roman citizen but now a 'peregrinus' he assumed thenceforth a new domicile in a place of his selection. Thus the sentence constituted the condemned person an 'exul'.[11]

In the early empire the penalty for 'maiestas' underwent innovations. It might be increased by the infliction of death, as under

[1] T. II. 134.
[2] Mommsen, Staatsrecht, II. 903.
[3] Tac. A. III. 10. Plin. Ep. VI. 31. [4] Tac. A. XI. 2.
[5] Furneaux, Tacitus Annals, i. 74; ii. 38. Mommsen, Strafrecht, 260 foll. [6] Paulus Sent. V. 29.
[7] Tac. A. III. 23. [8] Tac. A. III. 38. [9] Tac. A. III. 68.
[10] Tac. A. III. 17; IV. 20. Mommsen, Strafrecht, 1006.
[11] Strachan-Davidson, Problems of the Roman Criminal Law, ii. 51. Mommsen, Strafrecht, 592.

Tiberius in the cases of Clutorius Priscus and Considius Proculus.[1] Under Augustus adultery with princesses of the imperial house was treated as 'maiestas' and punished with death.[2] On the other hand it might be mitigated by the substitution of 'relegatio' for 'deportatio' the later equivalent of 'aquae et ignis interdictio'.[3] This is probably the import of the 'leve exilium' inflicted on Cassius Patavinus, guilty of an offence amounting to 'maiestas'.[4] So Cassius Severus was relegated to Crete, Serenus to Amorgus, and Montanus, according to Jerome, to the Balearic islands.[5]

It is now possible to appreciate the full significance of T. II. 127–38

> vita data est, citraque necem tua constitit ira,
> o princeps parce viribus use tuis!
> insuper accedunt, te non adimente, paternae,
> tamquam vita parum muneris esset, opes.
> nec mea decreto damnasti facta senatus,
> nec mea selecto iudice iussa fuga est.
> tristibus invectus verbis (ita principe dignum)
> ultus es offensas, ut decet, ipse tuas.
> adde quod edictum, quamvis immite minaxque,
> attamen in poenae nomine lene fuit:
> quippe relegatus, non exul, dicor in illo,
> privaque fortunae sunt ibi verba meae.

The offence being 'maiestas' Ovid might have been tried by an ordinary jury, a 'quaestio' with 'iudices'; or by the Senate sitting as a high court of criminal justice. By both these courts he would have been sentenced to 'aquae et ignis interdictio' and have become an 'exul', and the whole or part of his property would have been confiscated. But he was tried personally by Augustus in his private court. His life was spared; the milder form of banishment was inflicted on him; his property was not confiscated; his position was defined in a special clause (priva verba) of the edict which notified his sentence, which signifies, it must be presumed, that he retained his status as a Roman citizen. His position is defined in similar language in T. V. 11. 9

> fallitur iste tamen, quo iudice nominor exul:
> mollior est culpam poena secuta meam. . . .

[1] Tac. A. III. 49; VI. 18.
[2] Tac. A. III. 24. Mommsen, Strafrecht, 587.
[3] Dig. XXVIII. 1. 8; XXXII. 1. 2.
[4] Suet. Aug. 51.
[5] Tac. A. IV. 21, 30, 42.

nec vitam nec opes nec ius mihi civis ademit,
qui merui vitio perdere cuncta meo.
sed quia peccato facinus non affuit illi,
nil nisi me patriis iussit abesse focis. . . .
ipse relegati, non exulis utitur in me
nomine: tuta suo iudice causa mea est.

V. 2. 55

ira quidem moderata tua est, vitamque dedisti,
nec mihi ius civis nec mihi nomen abest,
nec mea concessa est aliis fortuna, nec exul
edicti verbis nominor ipse tui. . . .
arva relegatum iussisti visere Ponti.[1]

Ovid, who had received a lawyer's training, accurately describes the condition of the 'relegatus' as contrasted with that of the 'exul'. The 'exul' lost his civic rights and suffered confiscation of his property; he became a 'peregrinus', went into banishment, and took up the citizenship of the town in which he chose to reside: the 'relegatus' retained his civic rights and property, and had a place of residence assigned to him, either, as in Ovid's case, a town, or more usually an island. Under Tiberius 'deportatio in insulam' took the place of 'aquae et ignis interdictio', but the change had not been effected in Ovid's time.[2]

While denying that he is an 'exul' in the strict sense, Ovid does often speak of himself as 'exul', and of his banishment as 'exilium', but in such passages he uses the words in a loose and popular sense in order to excite compassion for his miserable condition.[3]

[1] So he elsewhere states that (*a*) his life was spared, T. I. 1. 20 'id quoque, quod vivam, munus habere dei'. IV. 4. 45: 8. 40. P. I. 7. 47. (*b*) he was 'relegatus'. T. I. 7. 8 'cara relegati, quae potes, ora vides'. Ibis 11. P. I. 7. 42; IV. 13. 40: 15. 2. (*c*) his property was not confiscated, T. IV. 4. 46 'nec mihi detractas possidet alter opes'. P. I. 7. 47. (*d*) he retained his civic rights, T. IV. 9. 11 'omnia, si nescis, Caesar mihi iura reliquit'.

[2] Mommsen, Strafrecht, 964–80. Strachan-Davidson, Problems of the Roman Criminal Law, ii. 67 foll. Digest XLVIII. 22. 4 'relegati in insulam in potestate sua liberos retinent, quia et alia omnia iura sua retinent: tantum enim insula eis egredi non licet. et bona quoque sua omnia retinent praeter ea, siqua eis adempta sunt: nam eorum, qui in perpetuum exilium dati sunt vel relegati, potest quis sententia partem bonorum adimere.' This passage explains the importance of the special clause (priva verba) in Augustus' edict, securing to Ovid his property.

[3] exul, T. I. 1. 3: 2. 37, 74; IV. 1. 3: 3. 49; V. 9. 6: 11. 2. P. I. 1. 22, 65; II. 6. 3. exilium, P. I. 3. 43: 5. 4; II. 5. 8; III. 1. 38: 3. 23, 39: 7. 34; IV. 4. 50. See Strachan-Davidson u. s. ii. 66 note.

Similarly in his anguish he sometimes speaks as if he were a real 'exul' divested of his civic rights: T. I. 2. 71

> nec tamen, ut cuncti miserum servare velitis,
> quod periit, salvum iam caput esse potest.[1]

and he describes his punishment as a virtual death sentence: P. II. 3. 42

> instar et hanc vitam mortis habere puta.[2]

To mark the offence occasioned by his poem Ovid's punishment was further increased by the suppression of the Ars Amatoria, which, as well as his other works, was removed from the public libraries: T. III. 1. 65

> quaerebam fratres, exceptis scilicet illis,
> quos suus optaret non genuisse pater.
> quaerentem frustra custos e sedibus illis
> praepositus sancto iussit abire loco. . . .
> in genus auctoris miseri fortuna redundat,
> et patimur nati, quam tulit ipse, fugam.

P. I. 1. 5

> publica non audent intra monimenta venire,
> ne suus hoc illis clauserit auctor iter.

The Ars Amatoria especially is spoken of as suppressed, T. II. 8

> iam demi iussa Caesar ab Arte mea.

P. I. 1. 11

> quaeris ubi hos possis nullo componere laeso?
> qua steterant Artes, pars vacat illa tibi.

His other works, though not the Ars Amatoria, were permitted to be in private possession, T. III. 14. 17

> tres mihi sunt nati contagia nostra secuti:
> cetera fac curae sit tibi turba palam.

The suppression of Ovid's works indicates the acuteness of the emperor's resentment. It was an unusual measure adapted to an unusual offence. For the Roman government was loath to interfere with literary freedom. Though Gallus was disgraced, his works were not suppressed.[3] Rarely the government intervened. In 181 B.C. under the republic certain Greek books, which had

[1] Cp. T. I. 4. 28 'si modo, qui periit, non periisse potest'. P. IV. 12. 44 'si modo, qui periit, ille perire potest'.

[2] This exaggerated language is illustrated by J. F. Gronovius, In Statii Silvas Diatribe, p. 123, ed. Hand, on Stat. Silv. I. 5. 65.

[3] One line of Gallus alone survives, Baehrens, F. P. R. 336.

been unearthed, were by order of the senate burnt as subversive of the national religion.[1] Under the empire the biographies of Thrasea Paetus and Helvidius Priscus were ordered to be destroyed:[2] but the rhetoricians were allowed to declaim freely in favour of tyrannicide.[3]

The mode of Ovid's sentence followed the republican usage. It was made known publicly by an 'edictum',[4] or proclamation, addressed to the persons concerned and to the public.[5] Under the republic a magistrate might order a person to quit Rome (relegatio), and made his sentence known by an 'edictum'. Thus Gabinius, consul 58 B.C., expelled the Roman knight Aelius Lamia by an 'edictum'.[6] So Ovid's sentence when pronounced was published by Augustus in an 'edictum'. Thus the banishment of Octavia to Pandataria, and the circumstances relating to it, were notified by Nero, and the expulsion of Silanus from the senate was notified by Vitellius in an edict.[7] Edicts could always be revoked (hence Ovid's hope of pardon) and became invalid on the decease of the issuing emperor, unless they were confirmed by his successor.[8]

A private enemy, possibly the person whom the poet accuses of having drawn the unfavourable attention of Augustus to the Ars Amatoria,[9] sought soon after he had been banished to bring complete ruin on Ovid by instituting further proceedings with the object of getting him declared in open court guilty of 'maiestas'. This would have resulted in a sentence of 'aquae et ignis interdictio', converting his 'relegatio' into real 'exilium', with confiscation of his property, of which the prosecutor might expect to

[1] Liv. XL. 29. 13.

[2] Tac. Agr. 2. Plin. Ep. VII. 19. 6.

[3] Iuv. 7. 151. Tac. Dial. 35. Merivale, Romans under the Empire, vi. 405.

[4] T. II. 135; V. 2. 58.

[5] Festus, p. 278 M. 348 Lindsay 'relegati dicuntur proprie, quibus ignominiae, aut poenae causa necesse est ab urbe Roma, aliove quo loco abesse lege senatuisve consulto, aut edicto magistratuus'. Mommsen, Strafrecht, 131.

[6] Cic. Sest. 29 'L. Lamiam . . . relegavit, edixitque ut ab urbe abesset milia passuum ducenta . . . qui ex urbe expulerit, relegarit . . . civem Romanum sine ullo iudicio ut edicto ex patria consul eiecerit.' Strachan-Davidson u. s. i. 110 note. Mommsen, Strafrecht, 48.

[7] Tac. A. XIV. 63; XII. 4.

[8] Hardy, Pliny, Ep. ad Traianum, p. 165. Iddekinge, De insigni in poeta Ovidio Romani iuris peritia, p. 20.

[9] T. II. 77.

obtain a share under the provisions of the lex Iulia maiestatis.[1] This is the person who is assailed in the Ibis, and in T. III. 11; IV. 9; V. 8. His machinations were successfully resisted by Ovid's wife, T. I. 6. 7

> tu facis, ut spolium non sim, nec nuder ab illis,
> naufragii tabulas qui petiere mei. . . .
> sic mea nescioquis, rebus male fidus acerbis,
> in bona venturus, si paterere, fuit.[2]

[1] Tac. A. IV. 20. 3; XVI. 33. 4. See T. III. 11. 1 'siquis es, insultes qui casibus, inprobe, nostris, meque reum dempto fine cruentus agas'. 19 'est aliquis, qui vulnera cruda retractet, solvat et in mores ora diserta meos'. Ibis 14 'iactat et in toto nomina nostra foro'. 230 'latrat et in toto verba canina foro'. T. IV. 4. 46 'nec mihi detractas possidet alter opes'.

[2] Ibis 11–22. Merkel, Prolusio ad Ibin, p. 396 foll. Leopold, Exulum Trias, p. 141 foll.

II

ANALYSIS

In the second book of the Tristia Ovid endeavours to justify his Ars Amatoria against its detractors and to extenuate his offence, and appeals for mercy to his sovereign. With characteristic adaptability he employs his rhetorical training and practical experience of the law for the production of an argumentative address in verse which, if it had been composed as a speech in prose, might have been delivered by an advocate without discredit in a law-court. While the rules laid down in handbooks of rhetoric are observed, the poet's own originality, and the influence of his master Arellius Fuscus, an Asiatic in origin and style, have left their impress on the composition in the unevenness of arrangement, the redundancy, and constant straining after effect and epigram, which marked the exuberant Asiatic school of rhetoric affected by Fuscus.[1] Ovid's prose in his speeches is described by Seneca as poetry in a prose setting.[2] His verse in this essay is a prose oration rendered in poetic form. Though reasoned argument was distasteful to him in youth,[3] the poor poet was constrained by harsh circumstances in his advancing years to resort to argument; and has left to posterity this strange and clever argument in verse.

The pleading is methodically arranged. It begins with an **exordium** (1–26), an introduction in which the poet draws attention to his miserable condition and seeks to conciliate the goodwill of Augustus. This is in conformity with rhetorical rule; for

[1] supra, p. 1. Sen. Contr. II. praef. 1 'erat explicatio Fusci Arelli splendida quidem sed operosa et implicata, cultus nimis adquisitus . . . summa inaequalitas orationis, quae modo exilis erat, modo nimia licentia vaga et effusa . . . splendida oratio et magis lasciva quam laeta'.

[2] Sen. Contr. II. 2. 8 'oratio eius iam tum nihil aliud poterat videri quam solutum carmen'.

[3] Sen. Contr. II. 2. 12 'declamabat autem Naso raro controversias et non nisi ethicas; libentius dicebat suasorias. molesta illi erat omnis argumentatio'.

the purpose of the 'exordium', called also 'principium' and 'prooemium,'[1] was to conciliate the court.[2] Next follows a short **propositio** (27–8), in which the author's object is stated,[3] which is to obtain more merciful treatment. Then follows the main body of the essay, the **tractatio** (29–578), or argumentative development of the case, in which the author's originality was most effectively displayed.[4] This argument falls into two divisions, each concluding with an **epilogus**, a peroration, to the same effect: (1) the **probatio** (29–154), the proof by evidence that the author deserves mercy, concludes with a lengthy **epilogus** (155–206) requesting that a less dangerous and less remote place of exile shall be assigned him; (2) the **refutatio** (207–572), in which the charge of immoral influence brought against the Ars Amatoria is rebutted, is followed by a final brief **epilogus** (573–8) restating his appeal for mercy.

Legal proof (**probatio**)[5] is defined by Cicero[6] as depending on two kinds of material at the advocate's disposal, first external evidence, consisting of witnesses, documentary matter, laws (leges), decrees of the senate, existing relevant judicial decisions (res iudicatae), and secondly internal evidence educed from the circumstances of the case by the advocate's own reasoning and ingenuity.

Of external evidence Ovid had naturally little to produce;

[1] Quintil. Inst. IV. 1. 1. Auct. ad Herenn. I. 6. Cic. de or. II. 310.

[2] ad Herenn. I. 6 'principium est, cum statim auditoris animum nobis idoneum reddimus ad audiendum, id ita sumetur, ut attentos, ut dociles, ut benevolos auditores habere possimus'.

[3] The 'propositio' is thus defined ad Herenn. II. 28 'propositio est, per quam ostendimus summatim, quid sit, quod probare volumus'.

[4] Cic. de or. II. 176 'iam illud videmus nequaquam satis esse, reperire quid dicas, nisi id inventum tractare possis; tractatio autem varia esse debet. . . . proponi oportet quid adferas et qua re ita sit ostendere; ex eisdem illis locis interdum concludere, relinquere alias alioque transire.'

[5] The 'probatio' (Quintil. III. 9. 1; IV. 2. 79 'probatio narrationi congruens confirmatio') was also termed 'confirmatio' ad Herenn. I. 4. Cic. part. or. 27.

[6] Cic. de or. II. 116 'ad probandum autem duplex est oratori subiecta materies: una rerum earum, quae non excogitantur ab oratore, sed in re positae ratione tractantur, ut tabulae, testimonia, pacta conventa, quaestiones, leges, senatus consulta, res iudicatae, decreta, responsa, reliqua, si quae sunt, quae non reperiuntur ab oratore, sed ad oratorem a causa deferuntur; altera est, quae tota in disputatione et in argumentatione oratoris conlocata est'. On proof by examples see De Decker, Juvenalis declamans. Étude sur la rhétorique déclamatoire dans les satires de Juvénal. (Ghent, 1913), p. 107 foll.

but under this head may be classed his contention that Augustus had often shown mercy to those who had taken up arms against him (43–50); and under this head may be classed the poet's contention that his honour and status as an eques had hitherto gone unchallenged (89–92), and that he had exercised respectable judicial functions without reproach (93–6). These three facts alleged amount practically to decisions in his favour which created a precedent. They correspond to the 'res iudicatae' in Cicero's enumeration of the various kinds of evidence, and in a forensic speech would have been cited as such. Great importance was always attached by Roman lawyers to such previous decisions.[1] Also the plea that the improprieties of the Ars Amatoria, however reprehensible, were not a direct violation of any law (243), amounts practically to the production of the law in his favour, since it is shown that no adverse law existed. Thus Ovid would contend that the 'leges' of Cicero's enumeration were on his side.

The longest and most interesting part of Ovid's apology falls under the second of Cicero's heads, the internal evidence in his favour derived from his own consideration of the charges.

The **refutatio**,[2] in which the charge against the Ars Amatoria is disproved, being the most critical and most difficult part of the case,[3] is argued by Ovid at the greatest length.

The **epilogus**,[4] or peroration, had a twofold purpose, to sum up what had been already said, and especially to appeal to the feelings and pity of the court.[5] Though the peroration proper came at the

[1] Roby, Roman Private Law, ii. 388. Such previous decisions are used by Cicero, Cluent. 49 foll. Mil. 7 foll.

[2] The 'refutatio' Cic. Top. 93. Quintil. III. 9. 1, termed also 'confutatio' ad Herenn. I. 4, is thus defined by Cicero, Top. l. c. 'refutatio accusationis, in qua est depulsio criminis', and in ad Herenn. l. c. 'confutatio est contrariorum locorum dissolutio'.

[3] Quintil. V. 13. 2.

[4] The 'epilogus' was termed also 'peroratio' and 'conclusio'. Cic. de or. II. 278. Brutus 127. ad Herenn. II. 47. Quintil. VI. 1. 1.

[5] Quintil. IV. 1. 28 'in ingressu parcius et modestius praetemptanda est iudicis misericordia; in epilogo vero licet totos effundere affectus'. VI. 1. 1 'peroratio, . . . quam cumulum quidam, conclusionem alii vocant. eius duplex ratio est, posita aut in rebus aut in affectibus. rerum repetitio . . . et memoriam iudicis reficit, et totam simul causam ponit ante oculos'. 10 'inclinatio iudicum ad nos petitur initio parcius, cum admitti satis est, et oratio tota superest: in epilogo vero est, qualem animum iudex in consilium ferat, et iam nihil amplius dicturi sumus, nec restat, quo reservemus'.

end of a speech, yet it is laid down both by the author of the treatise 'ad Herennium de arte rhetorica' and by Quintilian that such a recapitulation may also be introduced in other parts of the pleading.[1]

Thus Ovid concludes both divisions of his 'tractatio' with an 'epilogus' of the same purport, in conformity with rhetorical precept.

The divisions proper to a speech in court are stated to be five by Quintilian,[2] 'prooemium', 'narratio', 'probatio', 'refutatio', 'peroratio'. Ovid dispenses with the 'narratio' as superfluous, since the facts were known to his judge Augustus, and replaces the statement of facts (narratio) by the statement of his object (propositio).

Having analysed the rhetorical structure of Ovid's apology I append a summary of the contents.

Analysis.

i. **Exordium** (1–26).

Again I am writing verse, though I should have abandoned it for ever, since it has brought my ruin. Yet verse may also prove my salvation, if by it I can appease you, my offended sovereign, as by hymns the angry gods are appeased.

ii. **Propositio** (27–8).

My purpose is to mitigate your resentment.

iii. **Tractatio** (29–578).

(*a*) **Probatio** (29–154).

There is high authority for the exercise of mercy. Even Jupiter, the supreme god, does not punish all offenders. You yourself, Augustus, the counterpart of Jupiter as supreme ruler on earth, have acted as he does, and have pardoned magnanimously many defeated enemies. My own case is better than theirs, for I have never been a rebel, but always a loyal subject, and have proclaimed myself such in my books. My offending Art of Love was brought to your notice by a personal enemy of mine. Your

[1] ad Herenn. II. 47 'conclusiones, quae apud Graecos ἐπίλογοι nominantur, tripartitae sunt. . . . in quattuor locis uti possumus conclusionibus : in principio, secundum narrationem, secundum firmissimam argumentationem, in conclusione'. Quintil. VI. 1. 8 'illud constitit inter omnes, etiam in aliis partibus actionis . . . utiliter ἀνακεφαλαίωσιν fieri solere'.

[2] Quintil. III. 9. 1.

displeasure has been the signal for general disapproval, and, in my downfall, I am deserted by my friends. Yet hitherto my position as a knight has been unchallenged, and I have performed judicial functions with credit. Now, since through accident I have been the unintentional witness of an offence I may not name, I am ruined, though my family is ancient and respectable, and though I am a poet of recognized repute. It is true that my punishment is not so heavy as I had feared it might be. My life is spared and my property not forfeited. I am merely removed from Rome, not visited with the severer penalty of exile. Though my actions fill me with despair, I still have hope grounded on your clemency.

First Epilogus (155–206).

Therefore I beseech you to forgive me. I ask not to be recalled to Rome, but to be assigned a residence less wretched and less remote, since I have been banished to the extreme frontier of the empire at the Danube's mouth, a cold inclement district, menaced perpetually by incursions of hostile tribes.

(*b*) **Refutatio** (207–572).

I am charged with two offences. One is so grave that I may not even refer to it, the other is that I teach adultery by my verse (207–12).

Occupied as you are constantly with the anxious care of affairs of state, it could not be expected that you, the ruler of the vast Roman empire, should have leisure to read my trifling Art of Love (213–38). Yet if you had been able to read it, you would have found that the charge against my book is unfounded. I admit the poem is flippant, but it transgresses no law. So far from teaching adultery, at the very beginning I expressly warned married women not to read it. The frailties of the fair with which I deal are those permitted by convention (239–52).

My critics say (1) that, though not intended for them, it is probable that married women will read my Art of Love, and learn to practise its evil lessons.

This is unfair, for those who seek may find suggestion of evil everywhere, even in the greatest poetry. The love affairs of Ilia and Venus are scandalous, yet the reader of Ennius and Lucretius will find them alluded to by those austere writers. Poetry must not be condemned because the wanton by nature may misapply it to a vicious use. If my Art of Love is read in the right spirit it cannot harm (253–76).

My critics say (2) that my Art of Love has actually led some married women to sin.

This attributes too much influence to my poem. There are other more effective agencies of corruption everywhere accessible, the theatre, the gladiators' fights, the spectacles of the circus, the public resorts where youths and maidens meet with dangerous freedom. There are the temples of the gods, whose legendary intrigues remind the worshippers of vice. Yet these temples are revered, and are frequented by married women, whom I on the other hand have cautioned against reading my Art of Love (277–312).

My critics say (3) that my poem is licentious, and that I should not presume to educate the young in amatory matters.

I plead guilty, and am sorry for my indiscretion (313–16).

I am told that I ought rather to have devoted myself to epic verse, taking my matter from the legends of Greece or the historic wars of Rome or your own exploits. My answer is that this is beyond my powers, which are suited only to lighter verse. I had indeed attempted to celebrate your achievements in Epic, but found myself unequal to the task. So I returned in my Amores to the subject of love, impelled by destiny to a branch of poetry that has been fatal to me (317–42).

Though my Art of Love is held to teach adultery, no one can charge me personally with such misconduct. My verse is free, but my life is irreproachable. My poem is no index to my character: its purpose is merely to amuse. Poets must not be supposed to practise what they describe. I am the only poet who has been condemned on this arbitrary assumption. All great poets sing, like myself, of love, though I alone suffer for it (343–62).

Anacreon, Sappho, Callimachus, and Menander all wrote of love (363–70). Even Homer's Iliad has for its motive a husband's outraged love, and opens with a quarrel about the girl loved by Achilles. And the Odyssey is the story of a faithful wife beset by amorous wooers; and it records the scandalous affair of Mars and Venus, and the irregular love of Calypso and Circe for Ulysses (371–80). Even tragedy, the most elevated branch of poetry, centres largely on the theme of love (381–408). It is the same with the satyric drama, the facetious Milesian ballads, and other more audacious forms of verse (409–18). Yet all these works

are accessible in public libraries (419–20). It is the same with our Roman poets. Though Ennius and Lucretius chose the austere subjects of war and natural philosophy, Catullus and his followers, Varro of Atax and others, celebrate licentious love. Love and its deceits are the subject of our elegiac poets Gallus, Tibullus, Propertius, into whose place I have succeeded as the recognized poet of Love (421–70). Other poets, like me, have written on trifling matters, such as gambling (once regarded as immoral), sports, cosmetics, and the arts of dining and drinking. Yet they have incurred no blame for this (471–92). I was mistaken in supposing that I might make merry in verse, and for so doing I alone among poets am chastised (493–6). What would have happened if I had written mimes, whose stock subject is adultery? These indecent farces are witnessed with applause upon the stage, and the more shameless they are the greater is the author's profit: you have yourself often defrayed the costs of their production, and looked on at their performance. If mimes secure immunity because they are played upon the stage, I may claim this immunity, since parts of my Art of Love have been rendered by dancers and even witnessed by yourself (497–520). My Art of Love is banned for indecency, yet indecent pictures are tolerated, and hung beside masterpieces of painting (521–8). Poets write according to their powers, some of lofty subjects, I in lighter vein. Even the laureate of the Aeneid has inserted into his epic the lapse of Dido seduced by Aeneas, and in early life sang in the Eclogues the wanton loves of shepherdesses. But I, when old, am punished after an unreasonable interval for a poem written long ago, though I have also written serious poems, my uncompleted Calendar, dedicated to yourself, my tragedy Medea, and my Metamorphoses, in which, if you will examine it, you will find enthusiastic laudations of yourself and your Imperial House. I have never attacked any one in scurrilous lampoons; my verse has injured no one but myself; therefore I am sure that all will regret the disgrace of a poet so inoffensive (529–72).

Second Epilogus (573–8).

So I appeal to you for mercy; not indeed to be allowed to return to Italy, but to be granted a less perilous and a more tranquil place in which to live.

III

REMARKS ON OVID'S ARGUMENT

Ovid's defence of the Ars Amatoria is not entirely convincing. His contention that the poem was not designed to inculcate adultery is formally correct. But its immoral tendency is unquestionable. Though not indeed a manual of adultery, it is a manual of intrigue, teaching men how to win and keep the affections of a mistress, and mistresses how to retain their lovers. It is a burlesque, ironically composed in the form of a didactic poem, a type of verse employed by Lucretius, Virgil, and Horace, to convey grave lessons of speculative and serious and critical utility. But Ovid's lesson is different. He writes in cynical mockery. The fashionable world of Rome was bent on pleasure; he offers himself as its instructor, and undertakes frankly without any pretence to reduce sexual love to a system. Though redeemed by the graces of perfect style and execution, brilliant episodes, and wit and shrewdness of observation (for which reason it was regarded by so acute a critic as Lord Macaulay as Ovid's greatest work [1]) the Ars Amatoria is voluptuous and almost brutal in its coarseness, and is a dangerous work because it sets up the pursuit of selfish pleasure as the standard of life. When Ovid maintains that his poem is not intended to be taken seriously (T. II. 357), and brushes aside the charge that it will corrupt a wider class than that to which it appealed, by the statement that all poetry provides suggestions of evil to those who perversely seek it (253 foll.), he shows profound unconsciousness of the depraving effect upon conduct which is certain to result from the doctrine that capricious pleasure is the main object of existence. By the long catalogue of Greek and Roman authors whom he produces to prove that love is the motive

[1] Trevelyan, Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay, i. 474. Of the Ars Amatoria he says: 'Ovid's best. The subject did not require the power, which he did not possess, of moving the passions. The love, which he has reduced to a system, was little more than the mere sexual appetite, heightened by the art of dress, manner, and conversation. This was an excellent subject for a man so witty and so heartless.' 475 'The Art of Love, which ruined poor Ovid, is, in my opinion, decidedly his best work'.

force of poetry he seeks to overpower through indiscriminate numbers, and confuses examples which might help his case, with others that afford no real comparison. The fervid love poems of Anacreon, Sappho, and Callimachus (363–8), and the comedies of Menander, in which incontinence is represented as a pardonable irregularity,[1] justify, it is true, Ovid's argument that the moral code of poetry is lax. But it is not so with the Iliad and Odyssey, which he cites as countenancing illicit love. Though the relations of Agamemnon with Briseis, and of Odysseus with Calypso and Circe were adulterous, and the attempts of the suitors to win the hand of Penelope, before her husband's death had been established, were adulterous, and the intrigue of Ares and Aphrodite was rank adultery, and though the Trojan war was caused by Helen's adultery, the elevated tone of the sublime Homeric epics is so totally different from that of the Ars Amatoria that the mention of them in the same connexion is ludicrous (371–80).

While justly declaring that love was a favourite subject with the great Greek tragedians, Ovid, as is natural, since that was foreign to his purpose, does not notice that the tragic poets delineated troubles caused by headstrong love in order to convey a moral lesson. He might have strengthened his argument if he had restricted his catalogue to plays dealing with immoral love. Why, he might have asked, should tragedy, whose primary purpose is to impart moral instruction, be occupied so largely with the revolting themes of adulterous and incestuous passion? Such are the stories of the incestuous love of Phaedra for her step-son Hippolytus (383), of Canace for her brother Macareus (384); of the adulterous intrigues of Jupiter with Danae and Semele (401), and Alcmena (402); of the adulterous love of Tereus for his wife's sister Philomela (389), of Thyestes for his brother Atreus' wife Aerope (391), of Aegisthus for Clytaemnestra (396), of Agamemnon for Cassandra (400), of Hercules for Iole (405); and the adulterous advances of Stheneboea to Bellerophon (397). And there is other matter which is not salutary reading, the terrible legends of love which led to murder, as did that of Medea for Jason (387), and of Orestes for Hermione wrongfully taken from him (399); and of love which resulted in unpatriotic treason to country, as did Scylla's love for Minos (393), and in heartless desertion, as was the case

[1] Powell and Barber, New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature, p. 92.

with Ariadne abandoned by faithless Theseus (403), and with Deidamia deceived and deserted by Achilles (405). Side by side with tragedies based on these repugnant themes he enumerates without distinction others concerned with blameless love, which could cause no offence, the legends of Hippodamia and Pelops (385), of Hippomenes and Atalanta (399), of Andromeda and Perseus (401), of Antigone and Haemon (402), of Alcestis and Admetus (403), of Laodamia and Protesilaus (403).

Already in some of his Heroides Ovid had sought material from tragedies enumerated in the catalogue in the Tristia. In the epistle of Hermione (H. 8. T. 399) he drew from the Hermione of Sophocles, and possibly from the Andromache of Euripides; in that of Deianira (H. 9. T. 405) from the Trachiniae of Sophocles; in that of Phaedra (H. 4. T. 383) from the Hippolytus, of Canace (H. 11. T. 384) from the Aeolus, of Laodamia (H. 13. T. 403) from the Protesilaus, of Medea (H. 12. T. 387) from the Medea of Euripides. Also the epistle of Hypermestra (H. 14) was inspired by the Danaides of Aeschylus, that of Hypsipyle (H. 6) by the Lemniae of Sophocles.[1]

Having shown by his comprehensive survey of Greek and Roman authors that love is a recognized subject of poetry, and consequently that in writing the Ars Amatoria he was justified by precedent, Ovid proceeds to argue that, though the texture of his poem is frivolous, it should not be condemned on that account, since many poets have condescended to treat frivolous subjects, such as games of chance, games with balls, swimming, the hoop, cosmetics, and the construction of drinking-cups (471–90). The reasoning is curious, and to a modern reader might seem superfluous. Though games of chance and gambling were viewed with disapproval by the Romans (472), and were even liable to legal penalties, yet they were universally popular, and were a favourite recreation of Augustus himself.[2] This is presumably why they are introduced by Ovid. The other subjects mentioned are so innocuous that no blame could conceivably attach to those who discoursed of them in verse. The bold argument gathered from the fact that indecent pictures were permitted to adorn the Roman houses is more effective (521–8). If indecency was tolerated in the painter, why should not the same toleration be extended to the poet? The limitations of indelicacy prescribed by artistic

[1] Pearson, Fragments of Sophocles, ii. 51.

[2] Suet. Aug. 71.

taste are hard to define. But even when allowance is made for the lax standard of decency that prevailed at that period, it cannot be denied that in his Art of Love the poet was lacking in discretion.

The most interesting part of Ovid's essay is the brief survey of preceding poets of Love. Literary criticism had from early times held an important place in Latin literature.[1] The poet Accius in his Didascalica had discussed epic poetry, tragedy, and the drama; and in his Pragmatica had paid special attention to the material and structure of the drama.[2] A considerable portion of the Satires of Lucilius was devoted to literary criticism of the same sort, and was largely concerned with controverting the views of Accius.[3] Numerous works on literary criticism were composed by the learned and voluminous Terentius Varro.[4] Cicero, the greatest Roman man of letters, abounds in generous appreciation not only of orators but of poets.[5] Horace in the Second Book of the Epistles summarized and examined the traditional judgements on the earlier Latin poets,[6] and in the Ars Poetica, based on a work of the peripatetic Neoptolemus of Parium, investigated the laws of the drama.[7]

But the list of authors presented in the Second Book of the Tristia differs from such argumentative discussions. It is historical, not contentious. It affords a concise and fairly systematic sketch of Greek and Roman poetry from a particular point of view, and is remarkable for its compressed erudition and the neatness with which the authors in the series are characterized. In this respect it may be compared with Horace's summary of the conventional verdicts on the older poets.[8] From the second century onwards

[1] Nettleship, Lectures and Essays, ii. 44 foll. Literary Criticism in Latin Antiquity.

[2] Schanz, Gesch. röm. Litt. i. 179.

[3] Leo, röm. Litt. i. 413 foll.

[4] Nettleship, l. c. p. 51.

[5] Nettleship, l. c. p. 55 foll.

[6] Ep. II. 1. 55. Nettleship, p. 52.

[7] Porph. 'congessit praecepta Neoptolemi τοῦ Παριανοῦ de arte poetica non quidem omnia sed eminentissima'. Hor. ed. Kiessling-Heinze, iii. 281. Nettleship, Lectures and Essays, i. 173; ii. 48.

[8] Hor. Ep. II. 1. 55

ambigitur quotiens, uter utro sit prior, aufert
Pacuvius docti famam senis, Accius alti,
dicitur Afrani toga convenisse Menandro,
Plautus ad exemplar Siculi properare Epicharmi,
vincere Caecilius gravitate, Terentius arte.

such short summaries had been affected by Latin writers. The earliest specimen is the dogmatic canon quoted by Aulus Gellius from the De poetis of Volcacius Sedigitus, in which ten comic poets are arranged in order of merit, the first place being assigned to Caecilius Statius, the second to Plautus, the sixth only to Terence.[1] But Ovid's purpose in this Book of the Tristia is not to dogmatize or criticize, but to compile an exhaustive catalogue of the poets of Love. He elsewhere shows a special fondness for such compressed literary appreciations, and more than once passes the Greek and Roman poets in review.[2] But the survey in the Tristia is of a more systematic nature. It is a survey such as is not often found in Latin writers. For its thoroughness it may be compared with the surveys of Greek and Latin literature inserted into his history by Velleius, which constituted a new and original feature in ancient historical writing;[3] and with the history of Greek and Latin literature contained in the Tenth Book of Quintilian's Institutio Oratoria (written like Ovid's from a special point of view) in which are enumerated the authors suited to form the taste of an aspirant to oratory; and with the verbose epitome of Greek and Latin poets penned by Apollinaris Sidonius at a later date, when the Roman Empire in the West was sinking to extinction.[4]

The absence of two important names from Ovid's list is remarkable. Though he includes Sappho of Lesbos[5] among the singers of Love, he passes over her great Lesbian contemporary Alcaeus, who is generally associated with her as an outstanding lyric poet.[6] Though Terence is named as representative of Roman comedy, there is no word of his great predecessor Plautus.[7] The omission of Alcaeus was early noticed, and supplied by some probably mediaeval interpolator, who introduced the unmetrical couplet,

[1] Aul. Gell. XV. 24. The date of Volcacius is placed about 130 B.C. Schanz, Gesch. röm. Litt. i. 226.

[2] Am. I. 15. A. A. III. 329 foll. R. 759 foll. P. IV. 16. See above, p. 3.

[3] Velleius remarks that Homer like Archilochus is unrivalled in his class of poetry, I. 5: discusses Hesiod, I. 7: gives short summaries of Greek and Latin literature, I. 16–17: makes remarks on Pindar and Alcman, I. 18: gives surveys of the earlier and later Latin literature, II. 9 and 36. Manilius reviews the progress of poetry from Homer to his own time, II. 1–48.

[4] Ap. Sidon. Carm. 9.

[5] T. II. 365.

[6] As in Hor. Carm. II. 13. 24 foll. Ov. H. 15 29.

[7] T. II. 359.

which is found in a few worthless manuscripts after line 364. It is probable that the omission of Alcaeus was intentional. For Alcaeus, the impetuous aristocrat, who spent his life amid faction and unrest, fighting against despots set up by the democratic party, was famous chiefly on account of his patriotic poetry, in which in the midst of the hardships of civil war he sounded in noble numbers the call to arms on behalf of the cause of liberty.[1] His love poems were merely interludes in his life of struggle.[2] They did not present him at his best. Therefore, Ovid does not adduce him as a typical poet of Love. So also Catullus, for whom politics had only a secondary interest, sought inspiration for his love poetry from Sappho, and neglected Alcaeus, because politics not love prompted his finest verse.[3] Indeed, being largely concerned with perverted affection for beautiful boys, black-eyed and black-haired Lycus, graceful Menon, and the like, the love poems of Alcaeus appealed rather to Greek than to Roman taste.[4] Thus they are spoken of by Cicero with grave disapproval;[5] and Quin-

[1] Hor. Carm. II. 13. 26 'et te sonantem plenius aureo, Alcaee, plectro dura navis, | dura fugae mala, dura belli'. I. 32. 6 'ferox bello . . . inter arma . . . canebat'. The most vigorous and beautiful verse of Alcaeus was that of his political poems (*στασιωτικά*). Dion. Hal. V. 421 Reiske *'Αλκαίου δὲ σκόπει τὸ μεγαλοφυὲς καὶ βραχὺ καὶ ἡδὺ . . . ὅσον αὐτῆς μὴ τῇ διαλέκτῳ τι κεκάκωται· καὶ πρὸ ἁπάντων τὸ τῶν πολιτικῶν ᾀσμάτων ἦθος.*

[2] Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Sappho und Simonides, p. 310 'Der war ein Kriegsmann und hat selbst im Feldzuge Liebeslieder gemacht.'

[3] Lafaye, Catulle et ses modèles, p. 62 'Pourquoi Catulle . . . n' a-t-il pas même essayé de rendre, en s'inspirant d'Alcée, les fortes émotions qui firent naître chez le peuple romain tout entier les dernières convulsions de la liberté? . . . C'est que la politique . . . n'a jamais eu pour lui qu'un intérêt très secondaire. . . . On aboutit à la même conclusion si l'on considère comment il a fait son choix parmi les poètes grecs qui pouvaient lui servir de modèles. Ceux qu'il a dédaignés, c'est Alcée, c'est Solon, ce sont les élégiaques anciens; en un mot, ceux que la chose publique avait le plus préoccupés et qui lui avaient fait dans leur existence la plus large place.'

[4] Hor. Carm. I. 32. 11 'et Lycum nigris oculis nigroque crine decorum'. Alcaeus, fr. 46 *κέλομαί τινα τὸν χαρίεντα Μένωνα κάλεσσαι, αἰ χρὴ συμποσίας ἐπ' ὄνασιν ἔμοι γεγένησθαι.* Cic. Nat. Deor. I. 79 'naevus in articulo pueri delectat Alcaeum'.

[5] Cic. Tusc. IV. 71 'atque, ut muliebres amores omittam, quibus maiorem licentiam natura concessit: quis aut de Ganymedi raptu dubitat, quid poetae velint: aut non intellegit, quid apud Euripidem et loquatur et cupiat Laius? quid denique homines doctissimi et summi poetae de se ipsi et carminibus edant et cantibus? fortis vir in sua republica cognitus, quae de iuvenum amore scribit Alcaeus! nam Anacreontis quidem tota poesis est

tilian regrets that, though capable of loftier subjects, Alcaeus had stooped to employ his talent on sensual passion.[1]

As to Plautus the case is different. Plautus was highly esteemed by old-fashioned critics, by the learned scholar and philologist Aelius Stilo, by his pupil Terentius Varro,[2] by Volcacius Sedigitus, who ranked him second after Caecilius,[3] and by Cicero;[4] while Pliny joins Plautus and Terence as the supreme masters of Roman comedy as a matter of course.[5] He was admired on account of his exuberant fun,[6] and the impetuous liveliness of his dialogue, in which respect he was compared with the great Dorian comic poet Epicharmus.[7] But his established reputation was called in question by the subtle Horace,[8] who blamed him for incongruity in the delineation of his characters, for extravagance of humour, and for slovenliness of composition; which faults in Plautus he instanced to prove that it is an error to suppose that it is easy to

amatoria. maxime vero omnium flagrasse amore Reginum Ibycum apparet ex scriptis. atque horum omnium libidinosos esse amores videmus.' (The reference is to the Chrysippus of Euripides, Nauck, T. G. F. p. 632.)

[1] Quintil. Inst. or. X. 1. 63 'Alcaeus in parte operis "aureo plectro" merito donatur, qua tyrannos insectatus multum etiam moribus confert, in eloquendo quoque brevis et magnificus et diligens et plerumque oratori similis; sed et lusit et in amores descendit, maioribus tamen aptior.' Quintilian censures Afranius for the same reason, X. 1. 100 'togatis excellit Afranius: utinam non inquinasset argumenta puerorum foedis amoribus mores suos fassus!'

[2] Quintil. Inst. or. X. 1. 99.

[3] Aul. Gell. XV. 24. See above, p. 59.

[4] Cic. Off. I. 104. Cicero refers to Plautus' estimate of his own plays, De Sen. 50, and quotes from the Trinummus, ad Brut. I. 2. 5.

[5] Plin. Ep. I. 16. 6 'Plautum vel Terentium metro legi solutum credidi'. VI. 21. 4 'scripsit comoedias Menandrum aliosque aetatis eiusdem aemulatus: licet has inter Plautinas Terentianasque numeres'.

[6] Cic. Off. I. 104 'duplex omnino est iocandi genus: unum inliberale petulans, flagitiosum obscenum, alterum elegans urbanum, ingeniosum facetum. quo genere non modo Plautus noster et Atticorum antiqua comoedia, sed etiam philosophorum Socraticorum libri referti sunt.' Macrob. Sat. II. 1. 10 'iam primum animadverto duos quos eloquentissimos antiqua aetas tulit, comicum Plautum et oratorem Tullium, eos ambos etiam ad iocorum venustatem ceteris praestitisse.'

[7] Hor. Ep. II. 1. 58 'Plautus ad exemplar Siculi properare Epicharmi'. Varro, Parmeno, fr. 15 Riese (Nonius, p. 374 M.) 'in quibus partibus in argumentis Caecilius poscit palmam, in ἤθεσιν Terentius, in sermonibus Plautus'.

[8] Hor. A. P. 270 'at vestri proavi Plautinos et numeros et laudavere sales, nimium patienter utrumque, ne dicam stulte, mirati'.

write comedy.[1] In these respects Terence was held to be superior on account of his finished style,[2] and the uniform appropriateness of the language which he put into the mouths of his characters.[3] It is probable that Ovid, himself an exquisite artist in style, was influenced by the fastidious judgement of Horace; and Quintilian's depreciation of Roman comedy and its three great exponents, Plautus, Caecilius, and Terence, agrees also with that judgement.[4] It is no mere coincidence that Velleius, like Ovid, ignores Alcaeus and Plautus. Alcaeus he does not mention among lyric poets, nor indeed Sappho, though he refers to Alcman;[5] and he regards Caecilius, Terence, and Afranius as the chief writers of Roman comedy, leaving Plautus unnoticed.[6]

[1] Hor. Ep. II. 1. 168 'creditur, ex medio quia res arcessit, habere sudoris minimum, sed habet comoedia tanto plus oneris, quanto veniae minus. adspice Plautus, quo pacto partis tutetur amantis ephebi, ut patris attenti, lenonis ut insidiosi, quantus sit Dossennus edacibus in parasitis, quam non adstricto percurrat pulpita socco.'

[2] Hor. Ep. II. 1. 59 'vincere Caecilius gravitate, Terentius arte'. The 'ars' attributed to Terence refers to his finished style. Caesar's lines upon Terence relate to the same artistic finish. Suet. vit. Terent. 5 'tu quoque, tu in summis, o dimidiate Menander, poneris, et merito, puri sermonis amator'.

[3] The scholia point out the naturalness of Terence's characters: e. g. Donat. Andr. 447 'mire servatum est in adulescente libero τὸ πρέπον et in amatore τὸ πιθανόν, nam et honesto iuveni non congruebat versipellis vultus et amatorem absurdum fuerat ingenii celare tristitiam'. More in Kiessling–Heinze on Hor. Ep. II. 1. 171.

[4] Quintil. Inst. or. X. 1. 99.

[5] Vellei. I. 18. 3.

[6] Vellei. I. 17. 1. Fronto instituted a reaction in favour of the old writers. His style was deliberately archaic, and he borrowed freely from the vocabulary of Plautus (Klussmann, Emend. Frontonianae, p. xxx). He characteristically praises Plautus for his elegant choice of words, and recommends Marcus Aurelius to read him to acquire polish of style. Fronto, p. 62 and p. 224, Naber. See Haines, Fronto, i. p. xxx.

IV

OVID'S GIGANTOMACHIA

In two passages of the Second Book of the Tristia to which attention has been drawn by Koepp[1] and De La Ville de Mirmont[2] Ovid associates the military victories of Augustus with the victory of Jupiter over the Giants. In the first passage (61–76) after remarking that in both the Ars Amatoria and the Metamorphoses Augustus will read eulogies of himself and his imperial family, he continues that, although the emperor's glory cannot be increased by poetic celebration, yet even Jupiter rejoices in hearing his own praises sung, notably his triumph over the Giants. Other poets extol Augustus more worthily than Ovid, yet a god is propitiated no less by a scanty offering of incense than by a hecatomb. In the second passage (331–8) he says that although he possesses some ability for elegiac poetry, yet, if ordered by Augustus to celebrate in verse the victory of Jupiter over the Giants, he will be unequal to the task. Supreme talent is needed to recount the emperor's achievements; in spite of that he had himself attempted to do so, but had been considered to have treated the subject unworthily, and to have understated the imperial exploits.

Reading between the lines of the poet's language these two passages appear to refer to a youthful poem, which Ovid began but never completed, on the war of the Giants against the Gods; and they must be considered in connexion with Am. II. 1. 11–22

> ausus eram, memini, caelestia dicere bella
> centimanumque Gygen, (et satis oris erat)
> cum male se Tellus ulta est, ingestaque Olympo
> ardua devexum Pelion Ossa tulit;

[1] De Gigantomachiae in poeseos artisque monumentis usu. Bonn, 1883.

[2] La Gigantomachie d'Ovide. Revue de Philologie XXVIII (1904), p. 103 foll.

in manibus nimbos et cum Iove fulmen habebam,
quod bene pro caelo mitteret ille suo;
clausit amica fores: ego cum Iove fulmen omisi;
excidit ingenio Iuppiter ipse meo.
Iuppiter, ignoscas: nil me tua tela iuvabant,
clausa tuo maius ianua fulmen habet.
blanditias elegosque levis, mea tela, resumpsi:
mollierunt duras lenia verba fores.

Here he states that he began an epic poem on the war of the Giants, a leading episode in which was the attempt to scale Olympus by piling Pelion on Ossa, but that he discontinued that serious work on account of the disapproval of his mistress, who preferred that he should sing her charms in soft elegiac verse. The Gigantomachia in question must have been an epic, not, as suggested by Masson,[1] a tragedy, for the conflicts of the Giants were too multifarious and too confused to be suited for dramatic representation. The couplet produced by Masson to support his view, Am. II. 1. 3

hoc quoque iussit Amor; procul hinc, procul este, severae:
non estis teneris apta theatra modis,

does not support it. Though the Gigantomachia is referred to just below, there is no reference to tragedy in this couplet. Ovid merely says that the austere fair are no fit audience for his love poems. The word 'theatra' means 'auditors' at a recitation. 'Theatrum' is often used of the part of the theatre in which the spectators sit, from which sense it passed to that of the 'audience' in the theatre; as in Cic. de or. III. 196 'quotus enim quisque est, qui teneat artem numerorum ac modorum? at in his si paulum modo offensum est, ut aut contractione brevius fieret aut productione longius, theatra tota reclamant.'[2] The auditors in the theatre (says Cicero) are quick to observe a false quantity in an actor. On this analogy in the line in question 'theatra' signifies audiences at recitations of poems. Horace already had used 'theatra' to indicate the halls in which recitations were listened to, Ep. I. 19. 41

spissis indigna theatris
scripta pudet recitare et nugis addere pondus.

[1] Ovidii Vita, in Burman's Ovid, IV. 72.

[2] 'Theatra' has the same meaning in Cic. Or. 173 'in versu quidem theatra tota exclamant, si fuit una syllaba aut brevior aut longior'. Tusc. I. 106 'totis theatris maestitiam inferant.' So Ov. F. V. 189 'circus in hunc exit clamataque palma theatris', where 'theatris' means the spectators' seats in the circus.

The transition of meaning is facilitated by the fact that poems were sometimes recited in theatres.[1] Thus Ovid in exile looks for recognition as a poet only to the uncultured Getae, and must be content with them as the sole 'audience' of his poems: P. I. 5. 65

> hoc, ubi vivendum est, satis est, si consequor arvo,
> inter inhumanos esse poeta Getas.
> quo mihi diversum fama contendere in orbem?
> quem fortuna dedit, Roma sit ille locus.
> hoc mea contenta est infelix Musa theatro.

I return to the two passages of the Second Book of the Tristia referred to at the beginning of this essay (p. 63). In the first[2] Ovid associates the achievements of Augustus with those of Jupiter in the war against the Giants: in the second[3] he says that his powers are unequal to describing the war against the Giants, and that, although he had attempted to sing the exploits of Augustus, his effort had been regarded as unsatisfactory. It is noticeable that in the latter passage there is no particle indicating comparison; the two subjects are treated as identical.[4] What then was the work which Ovid had attempted, and by whom had it been considered to be unsatisfactory? It would appear that the unfinished Gigantomachia of his youth was the work intended by the poet, and that the disapproval which caused him to abandon it was not in reality that of his mistress but that of Augustus himself.

There is no reason to doubt that Ovid did complete a part of his Gigantomachia, which is therefore correctly enumerated in the list of his lost works. I am inclined to conjecture that certain fragments attributed to Ovid, from works whose title is not recorded, are extracts from the Gigantomachia, which may have been known to grammarians, though the work is now lost like other works of Ovid, such as the tragedy Medea, and the adaptation of the Phaenomena[5] of Aratus, which was undertaken

[1] Tac. A. XVI. 4. Suet. Nero 10. Gell. N. A. XVIII. 5. 2.
[2] T. II. 61–76. [3] T. II. 331–8.
[4] Koepp, l. c. p. 17.
[5] The two fragments (fragments 6 and 7 in my edition) which have been preserved of the Phaenomena indicate that the work was an adaptation rather than a translation. The first preserved by Probus on Verg. G. I. 138

> Pliades ante genus septem radiare feruntur,
> sex tamen apparent, sub opaca septima nube est,

probably as preliminary to the astronomical part of the Fasti. Ovid's vanity would not have allowed him readily to destroy what he had once written. Though he burned the draft of the Metamorphoses in despair when departing into exile, he would probably not have taken that theatrical step if he had not known that other copies existed in the possession of friends from whom they could be recovered.[1] Though he prefaced the first book of the Fasti with the introduction addressed to Germanicus, after the death of Augustus, he did not destroy the original introduction addressed to Augustus, which is retained in our text at the beginning of Book II,[2] where it was probably placed by his editor after his death. So he may have preserved his unfinished Gigantomachia, to which I suggest that the following fragments belong, which I quote by the numbers of the fragments in my edition in the Oxford 'Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca'.

i. fr. 14, G. L. K. V. 576. 6

currus crystallo lucidus albo.

This may refer to the chariot of Neptune, Iliad XIII. 23; Ap. Rhod. III. 1241; Val. Flacc. I. 678. The chariot of the watery sea-god, 'lucidus' 'flashing' with crystal, an expression like Cinna's 'atque imitata nives lucens legitur crystallus', fr. 6, Baehrens, F. P. R. 323, is appropriately decorated with crystal ornamentation ('crystallus aquosa' Prop. IV. 3. 52) because crystal was supposed to be formed of congealed water. Sen.

is a condensation of Arat. Phaen. 254

ἄγχι δέ οἱ σκαιῆς ἐπιγουνίδος ἥλιθα πᾶσαι
Πληιάδες φορέονται. ὁ δ' οὐ μάλα πολλὸς ἁπάσας
χῶρος ἔχει, καὶ δ' αὐταὶ ἐπισκέψασθαι ἀφαυραί.
ἑπτάπυροι δὴ ταίγε μετ' ἀνθρώπους ὑδέονται,
ἐξ οἷαί περ ἐοῦσαι ἐπόψιαι ὀφθαλμοῖσιν.

The second, three lines preserved by Lactantius, Inst. Div. II. 5

tot numero talique deus simulacra figura
inposuit caelo perque atras sparsa tenebras
clara pruinosae iussit dare lumina nocti,

is stated by Lactantius to have formed the conclusion of Ovid's Phaenomena. It is an addition of the poet's own, and in no way corresponds to the terse concluding lines of the Phaenomena of Aratus

πάντῃ γὰρ τάγε πολλὰ θεοὶ ἄνδρεσσι λέγουσιν.

[1] T. I. 7. 13 foll.

[2] F. II 3-18. See Peter's edition of Ovid's Fasti, part ii, p. 24. Plessis, La Poésie latine, p. 450.

N. Q. III. 25. 12 'quis non gravissimas esse aquas credat, quae in crystallum coeunt. . . . κρύσταλλον (Graeci) appellant aeque hunc perlucidum lapidem quam illam glaciem, ex qua fieri lapis creditur. aqua enim caelestis minimum in se terreni habens cum induruit, longioris frigoris pertinacia spissatur magis ac magis, donec omni aere excluso in se tota conpressa est et umor qui fuerat, lapis effectus est.' Plin. N. H. XXXVII. 23 and 26; Stat. Silv. I. 2. 126. In Virgil Neptune's chariot is 'caeruleus', the colour of the sea, Aen. V. 819. The yoke of Venus' chariot is of crystal, Apoll. Sidon. Carm. 11. 94.

In the fight of the Gods against the Giants Poseidon pursued Polybotes over the sea and killed him at Cos by hurling at him a fragment of the island, which became the islet Nisyrus. Apollodor. I. 6. 2 Πολυβώτης δὲ διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης διωχθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἧκεν εἰς Κῶ, Ποσειδῶν δὲ τῆς νήσου μέρος ἀπορρήξας ἐπέρριψεν αὐτῷ τὸ λεγόμενον Νίσυρον. Strabo X. 5. 16, p. 419 Didot φασὶ δὲ τὴν Νίσυρον ἀπόθραυσμα εἶναι τῆς Κῶ, προσθέντες καὶ μῦθον, ὅτι Ποσειδῶν διώκων ἕνα τῶν Γιγάντων Πολυβώτην ἀποθραύσας τῇ τριαίνῃ τρύφος τῆς Κῶ ἐπ' αὐτὸν βάλοι, καὶ γένοιτο νῆσος τὸ βληθὲν ἡ Νίσυρος, ὑποκείμενον ἔχουσα ἐν αὐτῇ τὸν Γίγαντα. Pausan. I. 2. 4; Schol. Hom. Il. II. 676.

ii. fr. 15, G. L. K. V. 592. 27

innumerosque vehes

This perhaps refers to the gathering of the Gods to the fight at the summons of Iris, Claudian, Gigantomachia 49 (p. 258 Koch)

> ac velut hostilis cum machina terruit urbem,
> undique concurrunt arcem defendere cives:
> haud secus omnigenis coeuntia numina turmis
> ad patris venere domos. tum Iuppiter infit.

iii. fr. 16, Charisius, G. L. K. I. 550. 17

viscere diviso

This may refer to the Giant Pelorus, Hygin. fab. praef. p. 4, Staveren, slain by the sword of Mars, Claudian, Gigantomachia 79

> tum concitus ense Pelorum
> transigit adverso, femorum qua fine volutus
> duplex semifero conectitur ilibus anguis,
> atque uno ternas animas interficit ictu.

Claudian composed an epic Gigantomachia in Latin and another in Greek his native language, of which incomplete portions are preserved. Claudian, ed. Koch, p. 257 foll. and p. 311 foll. Perhaps Claudian had Ovid's unfinished poem before him.

It has been lately maintained by F. Pfister [1] that the passage above quoted p. 63, Am. II. 1. 11–22, is no evidence that Ovid actually composed a Gigantomachia. He sees in it merely an instance of the commonplace that epic poetry (of which the Giants' war was a stock example) transcended the powers of an elegiac poet, which were capable only of singing of Love. He adduces as examples of this commonplace Am. I. 1–4 where Ovid proclaims that love-poetry, not epic, is his proper sphere; II. 18. 1–4 where he contrasts his own soft love-poems with his friend Macer's lofty epic on the Trojan war; Propertius I. 7 where the poet Ponticus is addressed, who is engaged on an epic about the war of the Seven against Thebes; here the conclusion is different, which is that Ponticus some day will know what love is, and will regret too late his incapacity to express his feelings in their proper medium, elegiac verse such as that of Propertius; Propertius II. 1 where Propertius asserts that, though love is the only theme suited to his powers, if he had been capable of writing epic he would have chosen as his subject the military successes of Augustus rather than historical or legendary stories, among which he mentions the wars of the Titans and the Giants;[2] Propertius II. 34 where Lynceus, a poet who has fallen in love, is warned that epic and tragedy, such as he is attempting, will not avail him; he must seek relief in elegiac poetry like that of Philetas and Callimachus; Propertius III. 3 where the poet, having dreamed of writing historical epic, is warned by Phoebus to return to elegiacs, his proper sphere; Propertius III. 9 where the poet declines to write epic as a task beyond him; at present he is fitted only for elegiacs, though some day he may compose a Gigantomachia or an epic on the civil wars.[3] From a com-

[1] Rhein. Mus. N. F. LXX (1915), p. 472 foll.

[2] Prop. II. 1. 19.

[3] So Ovid, Am. III. 1, proposes eventually to leave elegiac verse and write tragedy. The words in which Propertius declines to write epic, III. 9. 3

quid me scribendi tam vastum mittis in aequor?
non sunt apta meae grandia vela rati.

parison of these passages Pfister argues that Ovid said merely in jest that he had contemplated writing epic, mentioning the battle of the Giants as a stock example of its matter, as Propertius [1] had mentioned it; he thinks that Ovid's language does not justify the assumption that he actually wrote a Gigantomachia. If such a work had existed he considers that Ovid would have mentioned it in the Second Book of the Tristia, where he points to his more serious and ambitious works, the Fasti, Medea, and Metamorphoses, to show that his poetry was not entirely sensuous and frivolous.[2]

This argument does not appear convincing for the following reasons.

In the first place the expression 'ausus eram' used by Ovid in Am. II. 1. 11

> ausus eram, memini, caelestia dicere bella

taken in connexion with Trist. II. 337

> et tamen ausus eram. sed detrectare videbar

is too definite to be understood as merely introducing an epic illustration. 'Ausus eram' means 'I had attempted' to compose a Gigantomachia. The same expression is used of literary composition in Fast. VI. 21

> namque ait 'o vates, Romani conditor anni,
> ause per exiguos magna referre modos'.

P. II. 5. 27

> nuper, ut huc magni pervenit fama triumphi,
> ausus sum tantae sumere molis opus,

where the works referred to are the Fasti and Ovid's poem on the triumph of Tiberius over Pannonia and Illyria. It is used thus also by Virgil, G. II. 175

> sanctos ausus recludere fontes,

and Livy VII. 2. 8 'Livius ab saturis ausus est primus argumento fabulum serere'. Ovid asserts that he began a Gigantomachia. Ovid is our only witness. On literary matters his statements are

resemble those of Horace on the same subject, Carm. IV. 15. 1

> Phoebus volentem proelia me loqui
> victas et urbes increpuit lyra,
> ne parva Tyrrhenum per aequor
> vela darem.

[1] Prop. II. 1. 19–20, 39–40; III. 9. 47–8.

[2] T. II. 547 foll.

usually unimpeachable. It is therefore idle to impugn his precise assertion.

Secondly, Ovid's definite statement that he began a work on the war of the Giants is different from the allusions to that war in the passages of Propertius above mentioned, II. 1 and III. 9. In the first of these the war of the Giants together with that of the Titans and other legendary and historical subjects are introduced by Propertius merely as themes adapted to epic, but as unsuited to his own genius as they were to that of Callimachus; in the second the war of the Giants and that of the Titans are mentioned merely as subjects which the poet might some day attempt.

Thirdly, since the Gigantomachia was unfinished and presumably unpublished (though according to custom portions of it may have been publicly recited), it is not to be expected that Ovid would have included it in the list of his published works in the Second Book of the Tristia. If, moreover, as will be made probable below, it offended Augustus, it is unlikely that Ovid would have alluded to it when pleading in his own defence.

The war of the older generation of immortals, the Titans, the offspring of Uranus and Gaea, under their leader Cronos against Zeus and the younger generation of Olympian gods, was described in the Cyclic Titanomachia,[1] which in its contents probably resembled the short account given in Hesiod, Theog. 617 foll. The Olympians were assisted in the fight by the monstrous hundred-armed fifty-headed Briareus Cottus and Gyes, the kinsmen of the Titans, themselves also sprung from Uranus and Gaea. The Titans were finally vanquished by Zeus by means of the thunder and lightning furnished by the Cyclopes, and were imprisoned by him in Tartarus under the ward of their hundred-armed kinsmen.[2]

The folk-lore, which sought to explain the activity of volcanic forces, gave rise to the later legend of the Gigantomachia, the war between the Gods and the Giants, the huge serpent-footed[3] sons of Gaea to whom she gave birth in her indignation at seeing the

[1] The fragments are printed by Kinkel, Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta, p. 5, and Evelyn-White, Hesiod, the Homeric Hymns and Homerica (Loeb series), p. 480.

[2] Hesiod, Theog. 689; and 503. Apollodor. I. 2. 1.

[3] Apollodor. I. 6. 1. Ov. M. I. 184. T. IV. 7. 17. Macrob. Sat. I. 20. 9.

Titans vanquished.[1] In the conflict Heracles fought on the side of the Gods.[2] The chief episodes in the struggle were the piling up of mountains in order to reach Olympus, a late version of the attempt of the Aloidae to scale Olympus,[3] and the defeat of the Giants in the 'burning' plain of Phlegra, located in Pallene, the western promontory of the Thracian Chalcidice,[4] and later in Campania between Cumae and Naples,[5] where they were struck down by the lightning of Zeus and buried under volcanic islands.[6]

The details of the struggle with the Titans and of that with the Giants are often confused. The earlier conflict tended gradually to be supplanted by the later, which appropriated its outlines for its own embellishment. Thus in Euripides and other writers Titan means the same as Giant.[7] The hundred-armed Gyes is regarded by Ovid as one of the Giants,[8] and the hundred arms of Briareus Cottus and Gyes are attributed by him to the serpent-footed Giants.[9] Propertius reckons the Titan Coeus among the Giants.[10]

The war of the Giants is briefly related by Ovid, M. I. 151–62, F. V. 35–42.

That the Gigantomachia was treated in Greek poems now lost may be inferred from the remark of Xenophanes that it was a stock subject of poetry,[11] and from the statement of Philostratus that the poet and rhetorician Scopelianus attained such dignity of style that he was able to produce a Gigantomachia,[12] which might

[1] Schol. Ap. Rhod. I. 40. Apollodor. I. 6. 1. Bacchyl. 14. 63.

[2] Heracles is introduced by Pindar, the oldest authority for the battle of the Giants, as aiding the Gods, N. 1. 67; 7. 90. Soph. Trach. 1058. Eur. H. F. 1272. Macrob. Sat. I. 20. 8.

[3] Hom. Od. XI. 305 foll. Ov. M. I. 151. Hor. Carm. II. 19. 22.

[4] Pind. N. I. 67. Aesch. Eum. 295. Herod. VII. 123. Apollodor. I. 6. 1. Strabo VII, fr. 25, p. 278, Didot. Sil. Ital. IV. 295; IX. 305.

[5] Strabo V. 4. 6, p. 204, Didot. Prop. I. 20. 9. Sil. Ital. VIII. 538.

[6] Pind. Pyth. 8. 17. Apollodor. I. 6. 2.

[7] Eur. Hec. 472. Iph. T. 224, cp. Ion. 207. Callim. hymn. Del. 174. Hor. Carm. III. 4. 42.

[8] Am. II. 1. 12. F. IV. 593.

[9] M. I. 184.

[10] III. 9. 48.

[11] Xenoph. fr. 1. 21

οὔτι μάχας διέπει Τιτήνων οὐδὲ Γιγάντων.

[12] Philostrat. Vit. Soph. I. 21. 9.

have been a model for the Homeridae.[1] The subject was clearly common. It may also be inferred that a body of such poems existed from the fact that the theme became a trite subject for parody. Thus Aristophanes speaks ironically of the battle in which the Gods beat the Giants in brag;[2] and it is recorded that on the day when the news arrived of the defeat of the Sicilian expedition the Athenians were listening in the theatre to a burlesque Gigantomachia of the Thasian Hegemon, the first professional writer of parodies.[3]

The Gigantomachia was a common subject of vase-painting and sculpture. In the pediment of the early temple of Athena near the Erechtheum, the eastern metopes of the Parthenon, the pediment of the Megarian treasury at Olympia, the temple of Apollo at Delphi, at Selinus, and elsewhere sculptures representing it have been discovered.[4]

The subject was suited to poetry, as it embodied the idea of the triumph of the forces of righteousness and order over those of insolence and lawless violence. It is presented in this aspect by Bacchylides.

> ἁ δ' αἰόλοις κέρδεσσι καὶ ἀφροσύναις
> ἐξαισίοις θάλλουσ' ἀθαμβὴς
> Ὕβρις, ἃ πλοῦτον δύναμίν τε θοῶς
> ἀλλότριον ὤπασεν, αὖτις
> δ' ἐς βαθὺν πέμπει φθόρον,
> κείνα καὶ ὑπερφιάλους
> Γᾶς παῖδας ὤλεσσεν Γίγαντας.[5]

Since the conquests of Alexander the Great, who himself claimed divinity while yet alive, the custom of investing monarchs with divine attributes became frequent.[6] In this connexion the

[1] The scholiast on Ap. Rhod. I. 554 says ὁ δὲ τὴν Γιγαντομαχίαν ποιήσας φησὶν ὅτι Κρόνος μεταμορφωθεὶς εἰς ἵππον ἐμίγη Φιλύρᾳ τῇ Ὠκεανοῦ. What was the Gigantomachia referred to is obscure. It may be a confusion with the Cyclic Titanomachia.

[2] Aristoph. Av. 824.

[3] Aristotle, Poetics 1448 a 12 Ἡγήμων ὁ Θάσιος ὁ τὰς παρῳδίας ποιήσας πρῶτος. Athenaeus 699 a Ἡγήμων καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις ἐνίκησεν ἄλλαις τε παρῳδίαις καὶ τῇ Γιγαντομαχίᾳ. 407 a ἐν δὲ τῇ Γιγαντομαχίᾳ οὕτω σφόδρα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐκήλησεν, ὡς ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πλεῖστα αὐτοὺς γελάσαι, καίτοι ἀγγελθέντων αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τῶν γενομένων περὶ Σικελίαν ἀτυχημάτων.

[4] Pauly-Wissowa v. Gigantes. Supplement-band 667–731 'Giganten in der Kunst'.

[5] Bacchyl. 14. 57 (Jebb).

[6] Grote, History of Greece, X. 152 (fourth edition).

analogy of the battle of the Gods and Giants both in literature and art assumed a political significance. The expeditions of Alexander against barbarous nations were regarded as struggles of the civilizing effort of Hellenism against the forces of violent disorder. Thus the enemies subdued by the King of Macedon are called by Plutarch, adopting the imagery of the myth, Typhons and Giants:[1] and thus the savage Kelts, who swept southward in a devastating inroad through Macedon into Greece and attacked Delphi, and those remnants of them, who passed over into Africa and took service as mercenaries under Ptolemy Philadelphus, are described by Callimachus as Titans of a later day, the former when they were defeated and driven back by the Greeks, the latter when they rebelled against Ptolemy and were utterly destroyed by him, as Zeus had destroyed the Giants in the 'burning' plain.[2]

This idea provides the key to the import of the four battle-groups set up by Attalus I, King of Pergamum, on the Acropolis at Athens, which represented the battles of the Pergamenes against the Asiatic Kelts, of the Athenians against the Persians,

[1] Plutarch, De Alexandri Magni Fortuna 10. 341 e (II. 445, 21 Bernardakis) *πρὸς δ' Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτῆς [τῆς Τύχης] τὸ δυσμενὲς γέγονε φιλόνεικον καὶ δύσερι καὶ δυσεκβίαστον, ὥσπερ πρὸς τὸν Ἡρακλέα. ποίους γὰρ Τυφῶνας ἢ πελωρίους Γίγαντας οὐκ ἀνέστησεν ἀνταγωνιστὰς ἐπ' αὐτόν;* Pindar mentions Typhon and the king of the Giants together, Pyth. 8. 16. The battle of Typhon single-handed with the Gods is often confused with the battle with the Giants. Hor. Carm. III. 4. 53. Roscher, Lex. Mythol. I. 2. 1643.

[2] Callimach. Hymn. 4. 171

καὶ νύ ποτε ξυνός τις ἐλεύσεται ἄμμιν ἄεθλος
ὕστερον, ὁππότ' ἂν οἱ μὲν ἐφ' Ἑλλήνεσσι μάχαιραν
βαρβαρικὴν καὶ Κέλτον ἀναστήσαντες Ἄρηα
ὀψίγονοι Τιτῆνες ἀφ' ἑσπέρου ἐσχατόωντος
ῥώσωνται νιφάδεσσιν ἐοικότες ἢ ἰσάριθμοι
τείρεσιν . . .
τέων αἳ μὲν ἐμοὶ γέρας, αἳ δ' ἐπὶ Νείλῳ
ἐν πυρὶ τοὺς φορέοντας ἀποπνεύσαντας ἰδοῦσαι
κείσονται βασιλῆος ἀέθλια πολλὰ καμόντος.

On the invasion of Macedonia and Greece by the Kelts, see Thirlwall, History of Greece, VIII. 51–64. This happened 280–279 B. C. In 278 B. C. the Keltic mercenaries were employed by Ptolemy against Magas, regent of Cyrene. Pausan. I. 7. 2. Mahaffy, Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty, p. 87.

of the Athenians against the Amazons, and of the Gods against the Giants.[1]

The purpose of these sculptures was to celebrate the victories of Attalus over the Kelts. The Giants and Amazons in conflict with the Gods and Athenians symbolized the struggle of civilization against barbarism. The same symbolism was employed on a grander scale in the friezes which decorated the building containing the altar of Zeus set up at Pergamum by Eumenes II, the successor of Attalus, in which the battle of the Gods and Giants was represented with figures of colossal size. These sculptures were designed to commemorate the victories of Eumenes and his father Attalus over the Kelts.[2]

This symbolical aspect of the Gigantomachia passed into Roman literature, and was adopted as a commonplace, though no symbolical Gigantomachia was actually composed. Horace in one ode recounts the Gods and men who had performed great warlike feats, closing the list with Augustus himself, the vicegerent of Jupiter on earth. The Gods mentioned are those conspicuous in the fight with the Giants, in tacit reference to the Gigantomachia.[3] In another ode he excuses himself from describing the exploits of Augustus, which are as unsuited to lyric verse as the defeat of the Giants by the prowess of Hercules.[4] In another ode, written shortly after the battle of Actium,[5] the victory of the Gods over the Giants is sketched in noble language in order to enforce the lesson that brutal and rebellious violence then, as ever, could not withstand the disciplined force of a rule directed by intelligence: Augustus, like Jupiter, had vanquished the revolutionary forces.[6] Propertius also compares the war of the Giants with the wars of Augustus. If, he proclaims, he had possessed the ability to write epic, he would have left unsung the wars of Titans and Giants and other such legendary and historical themes,

[1] Pausan. I. 25. 2. Koepp, de Gigantomachiae in poeseos artisque monumentis usu, p. 5. Gardner, Greek Sculpture, p. 495.

[2] Plin. N. H. XXXIV. 84. Gardner, l. c. p. 499.

[3] Hor. Carm. I. 12. Koepp, p. 27.

[4] Carm. II. 12.

[5] Probably in 28 B. C. Horace's Odes, ed. Kiessling-Heinze, p. 264.

[6] Carm. III. 4. 42 foll., especially 65

vis consili expers mole ruit sua:
vim temperatam di quoque provehunt
in maius, idem odere viris
omne nefas animo moventis.

and would have preferred to celebrate the victories of Augustus in the civil wars; but he is as incapable of doing justice to the greatness of Augustus as was his model Callimachus of recounting the conflict with the Giants on the Phlegraean plain.[1] Virgil refers to the wars of the Titans and Giants in two places only cursorily, without political allusion, but in such a way as to show that the subject was prominent in men's thoughts.[2] Manilius speaks of the Gods' war with the Giants in the terms of a holy war, which was crowned by the victory of the Gods only after Jupiter, as high priest, had performed sacred rites at the mystic altar (Ara) of the constellation so named.[3] The poets of the empire write in figurative language of the Giants' war, and give it a political significance. The victory in that war which confirmed Jupiter in his sovereignty is compared by Lucan to the victory in the civil wars which secured peace for imperial Rome.[4] In the same way Domitian's conquest of the Sarmatae is compared by Martial to Jupiter's victory over the Giants.[5] In Silius Italicus, Flaminius, addressing his troops before the battle of the Trasymene lake, describes the defeated Cisalpine Gauls in language appropriate to the Giants, and the defeated Hannibal is compared to the defeated Giants.[6] Claudian prefixes to the 'Panegyricus de sexto consulatu Honorii' a prefatory poem. The Panegyricus celebrates the victory of Honorius over the barbarian invader Alaric, King of the Goths. Honorius is the new Jupiter. Thus in the prefatory poem the poet dreams that the work which he offers is deposited at the feet of Jupiter, and that its subject is the defeat of the Giants.[7]

That the theme of the Gigantomachia was a stock subject of epic may be inferred from Virgil's reference to it in the Culex,[8]

[1] Prop. II. 1. 17-40.
[2] Geor. I. 280. Aen. VI. 580.
[3] Manil. V. 341.
[4] Lucan I. 33.
[5] Martial VIII. 50.
[6] Sil. Ital. V. 107 foll.; XVII. 649.
[7] Claudian, praef. in paneg. sext. cons. Hon. 17 foll.
[8] Culex 24

et tu, cui meritis oritur fiducia chartis,
Octavi venerande, meis adlabere coeptis,
sancte puer, tibi namque canit non pagina bellum
triste Iovis ponitque ⟨acies quibus horruit olim⟩
Phlegra, Giganteo sparsa est quae sanguine tellus,
nec Centaureos Lapithas compellit in ensis,
urit Erichthonias Oriens non ignibus arces,
non perfossus Athos.

where the poet says that his purpose is not to sing, as others have done, of the legendary war of the Giants or conflict of the Centaurs and Lapithae or of the Persian invasion of Greece. There the allusion to the Gigantomachia can have no political significance, since the poem seems to have been addressed to Octavius while still a boy who has as yet done nothing heroic.[1] The spirited sketch in the Aetna[2] of the battle of the Giants, whose discomfiture brought peace to the world,[3] implies a poetic literature on which it is based.[4] Martial mentions an epic poem on the Giants' war by Julius Cerialis.[5] Claudian, the last poet of Roman literature, composed two Gigantomachiae, one in Latin, one in Greek, of which portions are preserved.[6] Much material therefore evidently lay ready for a poet who wished to turn the legend to a symbolical use, and to develop in detail the parallel already often drawn between Jupiter and Augustus, each the embodiment of stable government in conflict with lawless force.

De Mirmont[7] has suggested that the destruction of the Giants may have figured in certain lost Augustan epics; in the Bellum Siculum of Cornelius Severus,[8] whose description in his poem of Mount Aetna, beneath which, according to one account, the Giant Enceladus[9] was buried, was designed to suggest a comparison between Octavius the conqueror of the Pompeians and Jupiter the conqueror of the Gods; in the Bellum Aegyptiacum of Rabirius,[10] where the defeat of the Egyptian barbarians by Augustus may have been compared to the defeat of the Giants by Jupiter; and in the Heracleis of Carus,[11] who may have intro-

[1] Warde Fowler, C. R. XXVIII. 119 foll. Tenney Frank, Vergil, a Biography, p. 30.

[2] Aetna, 41–73.

[3] Aetna 68 'tum pax est reddita mundo'.

[4] Aetna 29 'ne quem capiat fallacia vatum'.

[5] Martial XI. 52. 17.

[6] Claudian, ed. Koch, pp. 257 and 311.

[7] Revue de Philologie, XXVIII. 103.

[8] Quintil. Inst. Or. X. 1. 89. Sen. Ep. 79. 5 'quid tibi do ne Aetnam, describas in tuo carmine, ne hunc sollemnem omnibus poetis locum adtingas? quem quominus Ovidius tractaret, nihil obstitit, quod iam Vergilius impleverat. ne Severum quidem Cornelium uterque deterruit.' Schanz, II. 1. 358.

[9] Verg. Aen. III. 578.

[10] Ov. P. IV. 16. 5. Vellei. II. 36. 3. Quintil. Inst. Or. X. 1. 90. Sen. de ben. VI. 3. 1. Baehrens, P. L. M. I. 214. F. P. R. 356. Schanz, l. c. 356. Teuffel, 252. 9.

[11] Ov. P. IV. 16. 7 and 13. 11. Schanz, l. c. 363. Teuffel, 252. 7.

duced Hercules as the most powerful auxiliary of the Gods in the battle with the Giants.

In the description of the temple of Mars Ultor in the Fasti Ovid actually employs the imagery of the Giants to denote the enemies of Augustus. This temple, which occupied the central position in the Forum Augustum, was dedicated by Augustus as a thank offering for his victory over the murderers of his adoptive father Julius Caesar, and he ordained that victorious generals should there lodge the trophies of their triumphs.[1] When Ovid says of this temple that it is worthy of the trophies won from the Giants

digna Giganteis haec sunt delubra tropaeis,[2]

I think it is now obvious that he means that it is worthy to contain the trophies of victory won by Augustus in the civil wars from his opponents, whose political situation resembled that of the rebel Giants.[3] We may suppose that trophies of the civil wars were deposited in this temple by Augustus,[4] as he deposited in the smaller temple of Mars Ultor, which he erected on the Capitol, the standards recovered from the Parthian king Phraates.[5]

It is probable that the Gigantomachia, which Ovid began but discontinued, was designed to glorify Augustus under the guise of Jupiter, and that the youthful poet aspired by this means to secure, like Virgil and Horace, the favour and intimacy of the sovereign. But Ovid lacked the fine taste and reserve of Virgil and Horace, and the open flattery, by which in his poem he may

[1] Suet. Aug. 29 'aedem Martis bello Philippensi pro ultione paterna suscepto voverat; sanxit ergo ut . . . qui victores redissent, huc insignia triumphorum conferrent'. Wissowa, Religion u. Kultus d. Römer, p. 146.

[2] F. V. 555.

[3] The above explanation, which I offer, is illustrated by Lucan I. 33 foll. It gives a clear meaning to 'digna Giganteis triumphis', which has been interpreted in various unsatisfactory ways; worthy to contain (1) the trophies won by Jupiter and the Gods from the Giants (Constantius Fanensis); (2) a Gigantomachia showing the God's victory sculptured in relief on the pediment of the temple (Merkel, Fasti, p. cxxxiii); (3) or a similar relief representing the trophies won by Mars in the Giant war (Keightley); (4) worthy of the god Mars, who won an illustrious triumph by killing the Giant Mimas on the plain of Phlegra, Ap. Rhod. III. 1227 (de Mirmont, l. c. 116); (5) worthy of such trophies as Jupiter won from the Giants, viz. glorious trophies (Peter). There is no authority for the existence of Giant reliefs on the temple.

[4] Mon. Ancyr. 21. 24.

[5] Dio LIV. 8. 3.

be conjectured to have identified Augustus with Jupiter and to have invested him with divine attributes, may well have offended the cautious monarch, who never permitted the Romans to call him god or dedicate temples to him unless the name of Rome was associated with his own,[1] as in the case of temples to his adoptive father Julius,[2] though in the provinces he permitted temples to be dedicated to himself and the Genius Augusti during his lifetime.[3] It has been suggested by de Mirmont[4] that Ovid introduced into his poem the grotesque legend of the flight of the Gods into Egypt before the onslaught of the stupendous monster Typhon or Typhoeus. This being a story insulting to the Olympian deities was chosen as their theme by the tuneful daughters of Pierus in their competition with the heavenly Muses, and is briefly related by Ovid in the Metamorphoses.[5] The Gods in their terror disguised themselves as animals, Jupiter as a ram, Apollo a raven, Bacchus a goat, Diana a cat, Juno a cow, Venus a fish, Mercury an ibis, transformations which were suggested by the Egyptian mythology.[6] The sketch in the Metamorphoses may be a compression of the fuller earlier version contained in the Gigantomachia of Ovid's youth. In that case we see a further ground for displeasure on the part of the emperor. 'Augustus must have been very little satisfied to see himself at once adored and turned into ridicule in an epic compounded of m :hological traditions, parodies, and adulation, of which he was made the allegorical hero.'[7] Ovid probably recited publicly portions of his

[1] Suet. Aug. 52. Tac. A. IV. 37. [2] Dio LI. 20. 6.
[3] Suet. Aug. 60. Dio LI. 20. 7. [4] Revue de Phil. l. c. p. 118.
[5] Met. V. 315 foll. The legend had already been told by Pindar, Porphyr. de abstinentia III. 291, Bergk. fr. 68, and by Nicander in the fourth book of the Ἑτεροιούμενα, Anton. Liberalis 28, and is alluded to by Ov. F. II. 461. See Apollodor. I. 6. 3. Hygin. fab. 196.
[6] The animal transformations combine Greek and Egyptian notions. The raven and the goat, whose forms were assumed by Apollo and Bacchus, were associated with those gods by the Greeks, the raven, the prophetic bird, with Apollo, Ov. M. II. 545, 596. Manil. I. 782, while the goat was sacrificed to Bacchus, Verg. G. II. 380. Juno as a cow may be connected with the Io myth or with Isis. Jupiter as a ram suggests the horned Ammon, or possibly the ram-headed Khnemu (Spence, Myths of Egypt, p. 152). Diana became a cat, the incarnation of the Egyptian Bast, identified with Artemis (Spence, p. 306); Mercury an ibis, associated with the Egyptian Thoth, identified with Hermes. Venus became a fish; some fish were sacred among the Egyptians. Plutarch, Is. Osir. 7, ed. Parthey, p. 267.
[7] de Mirmont, l. c. p. 120.

Gigantomachia during its composition. Their clumsy servility may well have offended Augustus, who disliked excessive adulation. He may therefore be presumed to have conveyed a hint to the author that he should discontinue his enterprise. This is more likely to have been the reason why the Gigantomachia was left unfinished than the poet's own playful suggestion that the disapproval of his mistress was the cause.[1]

The exiled poet at Tomis still hoped for pardon against hope, and fancied that the emperor, now secure upon his throne, might accept that homage as a divinity, which he had rejected in earlier days when his position was less assured. In Ovid's language, which identifies Augustus with Jupiter, we see the reflexion of the allegorical Jupiter of his youthful Gigantomachia, an idea which is also encountered in an epigram attributed to Virgil, one of the first Latin writers who assigned divinity to Augustus :

> nocte pluit tota, redeunt at mane serena.
> commune imperium cum Iove, Caesar, agis.[2]

Ovid concluded the Metamorphoses with a passage in which Augustus is figured as the earthly counterpart of Jupiter who reigns in heaven :

> Iuppiter arces
> temperat aetherias et mundi regna triformis,
> terra sub Augusto est ; pater est et rector uterque.[3]

The deeds of Augustus are as illustrious as those of Julius, therefore in spite of his reluctance he must accept the universal homage that is forced upon him.[4]

In the Tristia and Epistulae ex Ponto Augustus is generally spoken of as a god, and is not only compared to Jupiter but for the poet is Jupiter himself. Thus Ovid begins an address to Augustus in language appropriate to Jupiter.[5] In the Second Book of the Tristia he appeals to Augustus as a present and visible God (II. 54). Like Jupiter, he is a God who may be appeased (141–2) ; and, like Jupiter, he has not leisure to attend

[1] Am. II. 1. 17

> clausit amica fores : ego cum Iove fulmen omisi ;
> excidit ingenio Iuppiter ipse meo.

[2] Baehrens, P. L. M. IV. 156. [3] M. XV. 858. [4] ibid. 853–5.

[5] T. V. 2. 45

> alloquor en absens absentia numina supplex,
> si fas est homini cum Iove posse loqui.

to trifles (215–18). Ovid is more unfortunate than Ulysses, assailed by the wrath of Neptune, for he is himself the victim of the more terrible wrath of Jupiter (T. I. 5. 77–8, III. 11. 61–2). The very palace of Augustus on the Palatine, with its official decoration of the chaplet of oak-leaves suspended at the entrance, suggests the presence of Jupiter, to whom the oak was sacred (III. 1. 35–8).[1] Ovid pleads that he is innocent of political disaffection, and had not borne arms against the Gods (P. I. 1. 23–6). He has not attempted, like the Giants, to pile Pelion on Ossa and wage war against the rulers of the universe (P. II. 2. 9–12). The death of Augustus did not stop this adoration. When seeking to conciliate the favour of Germanicus, among examples of poetry which immortalizes the achievements of the Gods, he instances poems about the Giants hurled into Styx by the lightning of Jupiter, and a poem of his own on the apotheosis of Augustus elevated to heaven by his deserts (P. IV. 8. 55–6, 59–60, 63–4).[2] The juxtaposition in this passage of the victories of Jupiter and Augustus strikes the same note. It is by no mere accident that Ovid in the poems of his exile speaks continually of Augustus as wielding the thunder and lightning of Jupiter. The symbolism has become an inseparable element of his mode of thought. Thus, when he is banished, it is the lightning of Jupiter that has struck him; he fears its menace whenever the thunder roars (T. I. 1. 81–2). His calamitous ruin is not surprising, since the wound of one struck by the bolt of Jupiter is not slight (P. I. 7. 49–50). He is naturally abandoned by his friends, for a house struck by lightning is avoided (T. I. 9. 19–22). Yet there is hope that he may recover, for an elm blasted by Jupiter's lightning may survive to support fresh vine-clusters (T. II. 143–4). He entreats Augustus' mercy, and beseeches him to lay aside the thunder-bolt whose force he has felt (T. II. 179–80). A friend who stood by him in his trouble, when deserted by others, is said to have ventured to touch a body that had been struck by Jupiter's

[1] The 'corona civica' of oak-leaves was voted to Augustus by the senate for having saved many lives of his countrymen by his victories. F. IV. 953 'state Palatinae laurus, praetextaque quercu stet domus'. Mon. Anc. 34. 16 'senatus consulto . . . laureis postes aedium mearum vestiti publice coronaque civica super ianuam meam fixa est'. Dio LIII. 16. 4. The oak was sacred to Jupiter (Verg. G. II. 15; III. 332), whose most ancient oracle at Dodona was given from an oak-tree. Hom. Od. XIV. 327.

[2] The epicedion on Augustus is referred to again P. IV. 6. 17; 9. 131.

lightning (T. III. 5. 7). He exhorts his wife not to feel ashamed for him, though he has been struck by Jupiter's lightning, for Evadne felt no shame for her husband Capaneus when he suffered that fate (T. IV. 3. 63–70). He thanks a courageous friend who has not deserted him, but affords a harbour and refuge to his ship struck by lightning (T. IV. 5. 5). He is too feeble to withstand the lightning of Jupiter (T. IV. 8. 45–50). Jupiter sometimes permits those struck by lightning to recover; so may it be with himself (P. III. 6. 17–24).

Ovid's poems no less than his unknown offence had been the cause of his banishment. The frivolity of his too sympathetic portraiture of the corrupt manners of fashionable Rome in the Ars Amatoria clashed with the emperor's attempts at social reform, and the frivolity with which he chronicled mythological traditions in the Metamorphoses ran counter to the emperor's project of rejuvenating the state religion in its ancient simplicity. We can well believe that the gross flattery of the apologetic poems of his exile, designed to procure his restoration, was offensive to his sober-minded sovereign, and produced the contrary effect to that desired by the poet. The adulation was too glaring; it could not cauterize the wound.

V

MANUSCRIPTS, EDITIONS, AND TRANSLATIONS

THE manuscripts of the Tristia have been fully described in my large critical edition (P. Ovidi Nasonis Tristium Libri V, Oxonii, 1889), and in my edition of the Tristia Ibis Epistulae Ex Ponto Halieutica and Fragments in the Oxford Classical Texts (Oxford, 1915). It is therefore necessary only to enumerate the most important. None of these manuscripts go back to classical times. But the two oldest, belonging one to the tenth the other to the eleventh century, are authorities of first-rate importance, because the scribes of that period usually copied from some far earlier manuscript, and, although they committed errors due to carelessness or ignorance, they did not introduce wilful alterations of their own, a form of corruption which became prevalent later, when what seemed or was unintelligible was often corrected by the infelicitous emendations of more sophisticated copyists.

The first class consists of the two oldest and best manuscripts. These are

L **L**. Laurentianus, now in the library in the cloisters of the church of San Lorenzo at Florence, catalogued Marcianus 223, because it belonged formerly to the suppressed monastery of San Marco. It contains the Metamorphoses Nux and De Medicamine Faciei as well as the Tristia. At some period it suffered extensive damage, through exposure to the light, and loss of many pages, which were torn out. Later in the fifteenth century an attempt was made to restore it. Most of the lost passages were supplied from a source inferior to the original; the faint writing was refreshed; and corrections, chiefly worthless, were added in the margin. The hands of three correctors can be detected, the first, $\mathbf{L}^2$, contemporary or nearly contemporary with the original, the second and third $\mathbf{L}^3$ $\mathbf{L}^4$, belonging to the fifteenth century. The old part of the manuscript, written in the eleventh century, in which the Tristia is contained, comprises Tristia I. 5. 11–III. 7. 1; IV. 1. 12–IV. 7. 5. The later part, written in the fifteenth century, comprises Tristia I. 1. 1–I. 5. 10; IV. 7. 6 to the end.

The part containing III. 7. 2–IV. 1. 11 has entirely perished.

Θ **Θ**. Trevirensis. These fragments of a tenth-century manuscript,

consisting of two leaves only, which had been used for the binding of another manuscript, were discovered in the Town Library at Trier and published by Dr. R. Ehwald in his Gotha Programm, Ad historiam carminum Ovidianorum symbolae II, Gotha, 1892. The fragments contain T. I. 11. 1–31, I. 11. 33–II. 21, IV. 4. 35–65, IV. 4. 67–5. 9; of which 21 lines only belong to Tristia Book II.

The close relationship of these two manuscripts is shown by their agreement (*a*) in preserving the true reading, which has been corrupted in other manuscripts: II. 8 demi iussa; II. 12 ingenio est; IV. 4. 52 locus; IV. 4. 53 quantaque; IV. 4. 76 ob—funera; (*b*) in offering peculiar corruptions: II. 7 notarent; II. 9 uitam quoque carmine; IV. 4. 41 retractanda—rupem; IV. 4. 55 coibant; IV. 4. 69 que L quae Θ; IV. 4. 73 euicti deducunt. In IV. 4. 56 Θ preserves the true reading Axenus, which appears corruptly in L as exinus, in most manuscripts as euxinus.

Γ A second class consists of five manuscripts which agree so closely that they must be traced to a common original, though they do not in all cases present the same reading. Where they do agree I indicate their consensus by the symbol Γ.

These manuscripts are

A A. A manuscript, now lost, which was formerly in the library of San Marco at Florence. Of this a careful collation was made by Angelo Poliziano, commonly known as Politian, in his copy of the Parma edition of 1477, which is now preserved in the Bodleian Library.

G G. Guelferbytanus, Gudianus 192, a thirteenth-century manuscript in the library at Wolfenbüttel, near Brunswick.

H H. Holkhamicus, a thirteenth-century manuscript in the library of the Earl of Leicester, at Holkham Hall, Norfolk.

P P. Palatinus 910, a fifteenth-century manuscript written in 1476, now in the Vatican Library. It formerly belonged to the Palatine Library at Heidelberg, which library was presented to the Vatican by the Emperor Maximilian after the capture of Heidelberg in the Thirty Years' War in 1622.

V V. Vaticanus 1606, a thirteenth-century manuscript in the Vatican Library.

These five manuscripts rank next in excellence to the Laurentian and Trier manuscripts, and appear to descend, though remotely, from an ancestor akin to it. Therefore they are valuable for elucidating the corruptions of those manuscripts, and are

especially important for the portion of the Tristia which is not preserved in the older part of L. They are more free from manifest corruptions and interpolations than the very numerous manuscripts which are roughly comprehended in the third class, which I indicate ω by the symbol ω. The symbol ς indicates a reading of some of them.

To this third class belong the numerous manuscripts whose readings are recorded in the editions of Heinsius and Merkel and in my large edition, and further the Italian manuscripts at Venice, Milan, and Florence examined by Landi for his small edition of the text: P. Ovidii Nasonis Tristia rec. C. Landi (Paravia), Augustae Taurinorum, 1917, p. viii. The Huygens manuscripts (Zulichemiani) are described by Overdruck, Handelingen v. het Tweede Nederlandsche Philologen-Congres, Leiden, p. 52 foll.

Among the manuscripts of this class examined for my large edition may be noticed: C, Genovevensis, a thirteenth-century manuscript in the Bibliothèque S. Geneviève at Paris; D, Gothanus, a thirteenth-century manuscript in the Ducal Library at Gotha; E, Parisinus 8239, a thirteenth-century manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris; F, Hauniensis, a twelfth-century manuscript in the Royal library at Copenhagen; K, Leidensis 177, a thirteenth-century manuscript in the library at Leiden; O, Canonicianus Lat. 1, a thirteenth-century manuscript in the Bodleian Library at Oxford; T, Turonensis, a twelfth-century manuscript in the library at Tours; α, Atrebaticus, a thirteenth-century manuscript at Arras; β, Laurentianus 36, 33, a thirteenth-century manuscript at Florence; ε, Etonensis, a thirteenth-century manuscript at Eton College; ζ, Londiniensis, a thirteenth-century manuscript in the British Museum, Add. 21, 169; ρ, Harleianus 2699, a thirteenth-century manuscript in the British Museum; ς, Leidensis 191, d, a thirteenth-century manuscript at Leiden; φ, Parisinus 7993, a thirteenth-century manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.

In the following passages of this book the truth is preserved in manuscripts of this class: 16 ista φ: 69 Iovi ρ (so Merula): 87 quosque O: 138 ibi some MSS. of Heinsius: 139 mentis two MSS., that of Bersmann and one examined by Heinsius: 300 Iasion some MSS. of Heinsius and Merkel: 403 quive C: 426 casurumque Merula's MS. and the Bononiensis of Heinsius; 432 furta CO, three MSS. of Heinsius, and the second hand of Gρ:

457 ille a Vatican MS. of Heinsius : 472 erat ζ : 498 vetiti DETβρ and the second hand of Kaζ ς : 521 nostris βς and some of Heinsius' MSS.

In certain passages manuscripts of this class elucidate or confirm the reading of better manuscripts : 126 venerit ut L confirmed by K : 165 sit tecum ς, elucidates si tecum L : 357 voluptas V confirmed by E : 403 Peliae generum EK elucidates peli generum L.

As regards the interpretation of the Tristia, the earliest and still one of the most useful editions is that of Bartolomaeus Merula (Venice, 1499), a scholar of fine taste and profound learning. It contains a clear and full commentary in which the difficulties are faced and always sensibly explained. Merula also wrote commentaries on the Ars Amatoria and Remedia Amoris (Venice, 1494) and the Epistulae ex Ponto (Venice, 1507). He was Protonotarius under Pope Julius II. It is unfortunate that so erudite and industrious a humanist is unmentioned in Sandys' History of Classical Scholarship. An excellent edition containing notes on the whole of Ovid's works, a description of the town of Solmona, and a life of Ovid was composed by Hercules Ciofanus (Ercole Ciofano), a native of Solmona and an enthusiastic admirer of his compatriot poet. Though Ciofanus was an Italian, his edition was published by Plantin at Antwerp in 1583. He was an orator and poet of repute, a pupil of Muretus and friend of Paulus Manutius, who praises his learning and elegant style in a letter prefixed to the description of Solmona. He had a violent quarrel with Aldus Manutius, the son of Paulus, whom he charged with plagiarism from his own commentary on Cicero's De officiis (Tiraboschi, Storia della letteratura Italiana vii. 1550), probably with reason, as Manutius was denounced by Scaliger as a 'wretched and slow wit, the mimic of his father' (Symonds, Renaissance, p. 281; Sandys, ii. 101). Editions of the complete works were issued by J. Micyllus (Jacob Molsheym : Basle, 1543–50) and Gregory Bersmann (Leipzig, 1582); and a learned explanatory commentary on the Tristia and Epistulae ex Ponto by the Jesuit Jacobus Pontanus, a native of Brück in Bohemia (Ingolstadt, 1610); of which a handy abridgement appeared later (Munich and Ingolstadt, 1764). The Delphin edition of the entire works by Daniel Crispinus Helvetius (Lyons, 1689) is chiefly useful for its practical paraphrase. The ablest edition of the complete

works is that of Niklaas Heinsius (Amsterdam, Elzevir, 1661), one of the most brilliant and acute of Latin scholars. Heinsius was untiring in the collection and examination of manuscripts, of which he was an accurate collator. His edition laid the foundation of the textual criticism of Ovid; he sorted the manuscripts and estimated their value, and was remarkable for his skill in conjectural emendation; but his conjectures, though tasteful, are too abundant, and often arbitrary. The notes of Heinsius were reprinted by Borchard Cnipping (Amsterdam, 1670), with judicious additions of his own, and by Pieter Burman (Amsterdam, 1727), who had access to Heinsius' unpublished notes, which he used rather carelessly (Merkel, Tristia praef. p. xi foll.). Burman's own notes are prolix and cumbrous, but his great learning enabled him sometimes to shed light on difficulties. His handsome edition in four volumes is still indispensable as containing a full though slightly inaccurate index of words, the notes of Heinsius and some earlier scholars, and the learned biography of Ovid by John Masson, which was published at Amsterdam in 1708. Masson was the first to submit the chronology and life of Ovid to a critical examination, the results of which have been mainly accepted. He was the son of a French protestant minister who, after the revocation of the edict of Nantes, followed his father to England, and, having acted as tutor to the children of Bishop Burnet, devoted his life to learning. He was a sound and judicious scholar, but is said to have suffered from excessive vanity and insufferable pedantry. He also composed a biography of Pliny the Younger (Amsterdam, 1709). The following scholars have published separate editions of the Tristia: P. T. Verpoorten (Coburg, 1712), P. T. Verburg (Coburg, 1713), E. Sincer (Augspurg, 1732, with German notes), T. C. Harles (Erlangen, 1772), J. Minelli (Bassano, 1822), F. T. Platz (Hannover, 1825), F. N. Klein (Coblenz, 1826. Worthless), R. Merkel (Berlin, 1837), F. E. Boysen (Leipzig, 1829. With German notes, published anonymously), V. Loers (Trier, 1839), E. Cocchia (Turin, Paravia, 1900. With short Italian notes), G. Némethy (Budapest, 1913).

Of these Verpoorten's notes are valuable. He had learning and judgement, and his classified index is useful. Merkel's critical edition, containing collations of numerous manuscripts, is largely superseded by the discovery of the Laurentian manuscript. Occasionally Merkel gives explanations: these are subtle, but

often paradoxical, resulting from his excessive erudition and waywardness of judgement. The commentary of Loers is still the best, on account of its ample illustrative quotations, and the author's wide knowledge of Ovid and practical sense. The edition of Némethy, which on account of political reasons I procured with great difficulty, is on a less elaborate scale than his edition of the Amores. The notes are clear but brief, and do not add much that is new. The chief value of the edition is the excellent excursus on the third wife of Ovid (proved to be no relative of Fabius or connexion of Marcia, but a dependant of their family) and the excursus on the cause of Ovid's exile. I have derived considerable assistance from the variorum edition of the complete works in ten volumes by Amar-Lemaire (Paris, 1820–4), and from that in five volumes published by Talboys (Oxford, 1825–6). The latter contains Bentley's notes, rather inaccurately reported. See my critical edition of the Tristia, p. cvi. I have used the texts with short critical notes of Riese (1874, Tauchnitz), Ehwald (1884, Teubner, no notes), Güthling (1884, Freytag), Landi (1917, Paravia), Ehwald-Levy (1922, Teubner), the last with a full apparatus. Numerous pamphlets and articles in periodicals which I have consulted are referred to in their proper places. C. R. signifies the Classical Review. The following works to which I have been especially indebted require separate mention. I. Hilberg, Die Gesetze der Wortstellung im Pentameter des Ovid (Leipzig, 1894). This is a most important book, though the author's conclusions cannot be entirely accepted. See Ellis, C. R. ix. 157 foll. and Ehwald in the Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft, Bd. cix (1894–1902), p. 226 foll. H. M. R. Leopold, Exulum Trias (Gouda, 1904), a comparison of Cicero, Ovid, and Seneca as exiles. R. Ellis, Ovid's Tristia, in the Hermathena vii. 183 foll. A discussion of various passages. Also his The Second Book of Ovid's Tristia. A Public Lecture (Oxford, 1913). R. Ehwald, Ad historiam carminum Ovidianorum recensionemque symbolae, I (Gotha, 1889), II (Gotha, 1892), and Kritische Beiträge zu Ovid's Epistulae ex Ponto (Gotha, 1896): also his exhaustive articles in the Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft, Bd. xxxi (1881–3), p. 157 foll. Bd. xliii (1883–6), p. 125 foll. Bd. lxxx (1886–93), p. 1 foll. Bd. cix (1894–1902), p. 162 foll. Bd. clxxix (1914–19), p. 163 foll. P. Vogel, Kritische und

exegetische Bemerkungen zu Ovid's Tristien (Schneeburg, 1891). Van de Overdruck, De Codices Hugeniani (Zulichemiani) der 17de eeuwsche philologen (Handelingen van het Tweede Nederlandsche Philologen-Congres, gehouden te Leiden). A. Goldbacher, Zur Kritik und Erklärung des zweiten Buches der Tristien d. Ovid (Wiener Studien xxvi (1904), p. 260 foll. C. Brück, De Ovidio scholasticarum declamationum imitatore (Giessen, 1909). P. H. Damsté, Ad carmina Ovidi in exilio composita, in Mnemosyne xlvi (1918), p. 1 foll. I have also gained much from A. Zingerle's elaborate examination of the linguistic literary relation of Ovid to other writers and to himself. A. Zingerle, Ovidius und sein Verhältniss zu den Vorgängern und gleichzeitigen römischen Dichtern. (Innsbruck, 1869–71), Martial's Ovid-studien (Innsbruck, 1877), Kleine philologische Abhandlungen (Innsbruck, 1871–7). The following important collections of minor poets and fragments have been continually consulted: Nauck, Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta (ed. 2 Leipzig, 1889)—referred to as T. G. F. Pearson, The Fragments of Sophocles (Cambridge, 1917). Ribbeck, Scaenicae Romanorum Poeseos Fragmenta. Vol. i. Tragicorum Romanorum Fragmenta (Leipzig, 1871), referred to as T. R. F. Baehrens, Poetae Latini minores (Leipzig, 1879–83), and Fragmenta Poetarum Romanorum (1886), referred to as P. L. M. and F. P. R. The new edition by Vollmer being incomplete, I have not quoted from it, though I have used it. Plautus is quoted by the lines in the handsome and convenient edition of Leo (Berlin, 1895–6), Seneca rhetor by that of Kiessling (Leipzig, 1872), the Res Gestae of Augustus by the handy edition of Peltier and Cagnat (Paris, 1886). I have used the ordinary books of reference, among which Schanz's Geschichte der römischen Litteratur is referred to thus, Part I. 1, 3rd edition (Munich, 1907), Part I. 2, 3rd edition (1909), Part II. 1, 3rd edition (1911), Part II. 2, 3rd edition (1913), Part III, 2nd edition (1905), Part IV, 2nd edition (1914). Wissowa, Religion und Kultus der Römer, 2nd edition (Munich, 1912), Marquardt, Römische Staatsverwaltung, 2nd edition (Leipzig, 1881). Friedländer, Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms, 8th edition (Leipzig, 1910). For grammatical interpretation besides the well-known grammars of Madvig and Roby I have found most help from Kühner's Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache, 2nd edition, revised by F.

Holzweissig and C. Stegmann (Hannover, 1912–14), and the Lateinische Grammatik of F. Stolz and J. H. Schmalz (Munich, 1900).

The Tristia has found English translators. With the Elizabethans Ovid was the best loved of ancient poets; he was to them a cherished storehouse of mythological allusion and sentiment, and a master of style worthy to be copied. In 1572, printed in London, repeated 1577, 1578, 1580, reprinted by the Roxburghe Club, London, 1816, appeared 'The three first Bookes of Ovids de Tristibus: translated into English' by Thomas Churchyard, soldier, poet, and man of letters, best known by his 'Tragedy' of 'Shore's wife'. The metre is the long line of fourteen syllables, suggested to him probably by his forerunner Golding, who used it in his celebrated translation of the Metamorphoses, of which the first four books appeared in 1565, followed by the whole fifteen in 1567. Later translations of the Tristia in heroic rhyming couplets are that of Wye Saltonstall, London, 1637, who also translated the 'Heroical Epistles' and 'Epistolae de Ponto'. Though the grandson of a lord-mayor, Saltonstall lived and died a needy man of letters. Next followed the versions of Zachary Catlin, London, 1639, T. Ball, 1697, this latter the first two books and part of the third, and lastly the anonymous work 'Ovid's Tristia, newly translated into English by T. P.' (London, 1713). This is in a more flowing manner, but less close than the versions of Saltonstall and Catlin. None of these translations can be said to reproduce the grace and vivacity of Ovid's faultless style, whose art conceals art so cunningly as to hover ever on the verge of prose without sinking down to it. The most interesting is the curious version of Churchyard, whose opening lines I reproduce.

With you what thinge have I ado, my bookes my haplesse care?
Sith that my wits (O wretch) be cause, y^t I of life dispayre.
My verse condempned muses why repete I now againe?
And is it not enough that I have once thus suffered payne?
My verses too a meane have bene, by heavy hap so growne,
That I (alas) on every side, to man and wife am knowne.
My verses eke doth Caesar note, me and my maners all,
Through pervers art which now of late in deepe disdaine is fall.
My painfull studies set aside, no faultes of life remayne,
That guiltie I imputed am, my verse hath caused playne.
This we receive as price of life, and labors great of minde,
And now my painfull pinchinge paynes, in wofull wit I finde.

SIGLA

Θ = fragmenta Trevirensia, saec. x
L = Laurentianus, olim Marcianus 223, saec. xi
A = Marcianus Politiani hodie deperditus, saec. fortasse xi
G = Guelferbytanus Gud. 192, saec. xiii
H = Holkhamicus, saec. xiii
P = Palatinus (Vaticanus), saec. xv
V = Vaticanus 1606, saec. xiii
Γ = codicum **AGHPV** consensus
ω = reliqui codices praeter **ΘLΓ** aut omnes aut permulti
ς = reliquorum codicum praeter **ΘLΓ** nonnulli

P. OVIDI NASONIS

TRISTIVM · LIBER II

QVID mihi vobiscum est, infelix cura, libelli,
  ingenio perii qui miser ipse meo?
cur modo damnatas repeto, mea crimina, Musas?
  an semel est poenam commeruisse parum?
carmina fecerunt, ut me cognoscere vellet 5
  omine non fausto femina virque meo:
carmina fecerunt, ut me moresque notaret
  iam demi iussa Caesar ab Arte mea.
deme mihi studium, vitium quoque carmine demes;
  acceptum refero versibus esse nocens. 10
hoc pretium curae vigilatorumque laborum
  cepimus: ingenio est poena reperta meo.
si saperem, doctas odissem iure sorores,
  numina cultori perniciosa suo.
at nunc (tanta meo comes est insania morbo) 15
  saxa malum refero rursus ad ista pedem:
scilicet ut victus repetit gladiator harenam,
  et redit in tumidas naufraga puppis aquas.
forsitan ut quondam Teuthrantia regna tenenti,
  sic mihi res eadem vulnus opemque feret, 20
Musaque, quam movit, motam quoque leniet iram:
  exorant magnos carmina saepe deos.
ipse quoque Ausonias Caesar matresque nurusque
  carmina turrigerae dicere iussit Opi:
iusserat et Phoebo dici, quo tempore ludos 25
  fecit, quos aetas aspicit una semel.
his precor exemplis tua nunc, mitissime Caesar,
  fiat ab ingenio mollior ira meo.
illa quidem iusta est, nec me meruisse negabo:
  non adeo nostro fugit ab ore pudor. 30
sed nisi peccassem, quid tu concedere posses?
  materiam veniae sors tibi nostra dedit.
si, quotiens peccant homines, sua fulmina mittat
  Iuppiter, exiguo tempore inermis erit;
nunc ubi detonuit strepituque exterruit orbem, 35
  purum discussis aera reddit aquis.
iure igitur genitorque deum rectorque vocatur,
  iure capax mundus nil Iove maius habet.

3 carmina ΘHϛ 7 notarent Θ (*ut uidetur*) L 8 demi iussa ΘL demum uisa Γ pridem uisa *aut* inuisa ω mea ΘLϛ meas V meos *cett. codd.* 9 uitium *Baehrens* uitam ΘL uitae Γω carmine ΘL crimina Γω

POEMS, luckless labour, why do I busy myself with you, seeing that my talent, alas, has been my ruin? Why do I return to the Muses, my reproaches, just condemned? Is it not enough that I have once deserved punishment? It was poetry that caused women and men alike (forecast of evil) to wish to know me, it was poetry that caused my sovereign to condemn me and my character, because of my Art of Love now ordained to be suppressed. Take from me song, and through verse you will also take from me my offence. I account it to verses that I am a criminal. I have received this reward for my pains and sleepless toils: my talent has secured my punishment. If I had been wise I should have rightly abjured the poetic sisterhood, divinities disastrous to their votary. But such is the madness which attends my disorder, that now I turn again my accursed foot to these same rocks; just as the defeated gladiator goes back to the lists, and the wrecked ship returns into the boisterous waves.

Perhaps the same thing that caused the wound will bring its cure to me, as once to the ruler of the realm of Teuthras, and, when it has been aroused, the Muse will also assuage the anger she aroused. Verses often win forgiveness from the high gods. Even my sovereign himself ordained that Italian matrons and brides should chant verses to tower-crowned Ops, and had ordained that verses should be chanted to Phoebus, what time he celebrated the festival that one generation beholds but once.

After these precedents, most merciful sovereign, let your anger now be softened by my poetic talent.

Indeed that anger is just, and I will not deny that I have deserved it. My face is not so utterly bereft of shame. Yet if I had not sinned, what could you have forgiven? My plight has furnished you with opportunity for mercy.

If Jupiter hurls his bolts whenever mortals sin, he will be soon disarmed. Now, once he has thundered and affrighted the world with the din, he dispels the clouds and makes the air clear. Therefore he is truly called the sire and ruler of the Gods; the wide universe truly contains naught greater than Jupiter. Since you are hailed as ruler and father of

11 curae ΘL, *ut uidetur* uitae $L^3\Gamma\omega$ 12 est *om.* AGHV 16 ista *Parisinus* 7993 dita L icta $\Theta L^3\Gamma\omega$ 20 ferat L 21 quae ς leniat ς 35 nunc] hic ς

tu quoque, cum patriae rector dicare paterque,
  utere more dei nomen habentis idem. 40
idque facis, nec te quisquam moderatius umquam
  inperii potuit frena tenere sui.
tu veniam parti superatae saepe dedisti,
  non concessurus quam tibi victor erat.
divitiis etiam multos et honoribus auctos 45
  vidi, qui tulerant in caput arma tuum;
quaeque dies bellum, belli tibi sustulit iram,
  parsque simul templis utraque dona tulit;
utque tuus gaudet miles, quod vicerit hostem,
  sic victum cur se gaudeat, hostis habet. 50
causa mea est melior, qui nec contraria dicor
  arma nec hostiles esse secutus opes.
per mare, per terras, per tertia numina iuro,
  per te praesentem conspicuumque deum,
hunc animum favisse tibi, vir maxime, meque, 55
  qua sola potui, mente fuisse tuum.
optavi, peteres caelestia sidera tarde,
  parsque fui turbae parva precantis idem,
et pia tura dedi pro te, cumque omnibus unus
  ipse quoque adiuvi publica vota meis. 60
quid referam libros, illos quoque, crimina nostra,
  mille locis plenos nominis esse tui?
inspice maius opus, quod adhuc sine fine tenetur,
  in non credendos corpora versa modos:
invenies vestri praeconia nominis illic, 65
  invenies animi pignora multa mei.
non tua carminibus maior fit gloria, nec quo,
  ut maior fiat, crescere possit, habet.
fama Iovi superest: tamen hunc sua facta referri
  et se materiam carminis esse iuvat, 70
cumque Gigantei memorantur proelia belli,
  credibile est laetum laudibus esse suis.
te celebrant alii, quanto decet ore, tuasque
  ingenio laudes uberiore canunt:
sed tamen, ut fuso taurorum sanguine centum, 75
  sic capitur minimo turis honore deus.
a, ferus et nobis crudelior omnibus hostis,
  delicias legit qui tibi cumque meas,
carmina ne nostris quae te venerantia libris
  iudicio possint candidiore legi. 80

49 qui G^3HPV 55 hunc animam L hanc animam ς 61 carmina Lς 63 tenetur L reliqui Γω 66 cara tui L 69 Ioui

your country, follow also the custom of the god whose title is the same. And this you do, and none has ever deigned to wield his sceptre with more clemency than you. You have often granted to the vanquished side that mercy which it would not have vouchsafed to yourself. Nay, I have even seen many enriched with wealth and dignities who had taken up arms against your life; and the day that ended the war has ended your anger engendered by the war, and both sides together have brought offerings for the temples; and as your soldiers rejoice that they have defeated the enemy, so the enemy has reason why he should rejoice that he has been defeated. A better case than such have I who am not alleged to have joined the host of your antagonists or forces of your foes.

By sea and lands and the deities of the third sphere, by yourself a present and visible god, I swear that my heart was devoted to you, most potent Sire, and that in sympathy, my only way, I was your follower. I prayed that your ascension to starry heaven might be long delayed, and was a humble portion of the multitude that preferred the same petition, and I offered reverential incense on your behalf and, one merely amid the general mass, I too supported with my own the nation's prayers. Need I say that my books, even those that are my reproaches, are filled with your name in a thousand places? Look at my greater work, which is arrested still unfinished, the changes of bodies in miraculous ways; there you will find laudations of your family, and will find many earnests of my devotion. Not that your glory is enhanced by verses, or has any means of increase to become more great. Jupiter has abundant renown, yet he rejoices that his deeds should be rehearsed, and himself become the theme of song, and, when his battles in war against the Giants are recounted, it may well be that he exults in his own praises. Others proclaim you in fitting language, and sing your praises with richer talent: yet a god is propitiated no less by scanty offering of incense than by the spilt blood of an hundred bulls.

Alas! a brutal enemy more cruel than all to me was he who has read to you my amorous flights, with the intent that you may read with less friendly verdict such verses in my books as render you homage. But who could have been

Harleianus 2699 Iouis *cett. codd.* 77 crudelior omnibus **LV** nimium crudelior **Gω** nimium crudeliter **AHP** 79 ne . . . quae] nunc *aut* nam . . . quo *aut* quoque **ς** 80 iudicio **Gς** indicio **LHPVς**

esse sed irato quis te mihi posset amicus?
  vix tunc ipse mihi non inimicus eram.
cum coepit quassata domus subsidere, partes
  in proclinatas omne recumbit onus,
cunctaque fortuna rimam faciente dehiscunt, 85
  ipsa suoque eadem pondere tracta ruunt.
ergo hominum quaesitum odium mihi carmine, quosque
  debuit, est vultus turba secuta tuos.
at, memini, vitamque meam moresque probabas
  illo, quem dederas, praetereuntis equo: 90
quod si non prodest et honesti gloria nulla
  redditur, at nullum crimen adeptus eram.
nec male commissa est nobis fortuna reorum
  lisque decem deciens inspicienda viris.
res quoque privatas statui sine crimine iudex, 95
  deque mea fassa est pars quoque victa fide.
me miserum! potui, si non extrema nocerent,
  iudicio tutus non semel esse tuo.
ultima me perdunt, imoque sub aequore mergit
  incolumem totiens una procella ratem. 100
nec mihi pars nocuit de gurgite parva, sed omnes
  pressere hoc fluctus oceanusque caput.
cur aliquid vidi? cur noxia lumina feci?
  cur imprudenti cognita culpa mihi?
inscius Actaeon vidit sine veste Dianam: 105
  praeda fuit canibus non minus ille suis.
scilicet in superis etiam fortuna luenda est,
  nec veniam laeso numine casus habet.
illa nostra die, qua me malus abstulit error,
  parva quidem periit, sed sine labe domus: 110
sic quoque parva tamen, patrio dicatur ut aevo
  clara nec ullius nobilitate minor,
et neque divitiis nec paupertate notanda,
  unde sit in neutrum conspiciendus eques.
sit quoque nostra domus vel censu parva vel ortu, 115
  ingenio certe non latet illa meo:
quo videar quamvis nimium iuvenaliter usus,
  grande tamen toto nomen ab orbe fero;
turbaque doctorum Nasonem novit, et audet
  non fastiditis adnumerare viris. 120

85 cūq; L cumtaque G 86 ipse L suoque eadem *Binsfeld* suo quodam LΓϛ suo quondam *aut* quaedam ϛ tecta Gϛ 87 quosque *Canonicianus* quaque LΓω 91 quod si non prodest] non quasi prodesset L gratia ϛ 92 redditus est L redditur et L³ 94 lisque *Heinsius*

my friend, when you were angered? I hardly then escaped being unfriendly to myself. When a tottering house begins to fall, the entire bulk tumbles upon the leaning portions, and, when accident makes a rift, whole structures crack and at once collapse, dragged down by their own weight. So I have won for myself the general hatred by my verse, and the multitude has been guided by your demeanour, as in duty bound. Yet, I remember, you approved my life and character by the horse, which you had bestowed upon me when I passed before you in review: and if this brings me no advantage, and my repute for probity is irrevocably lost, still I had incurred no reproach. Also the fate of defendants and disputes that must be tried by the hundred judges were entrusted to me not without success. Moreover as arbitrator I have decided private suits without reproach, and even the losing party has acknowledged my uprightness.

Ah! woe is me! if my last acts had not undone me, I might have lived secured through more than one award of yours. My latest acts are my ruin, and a single hurricane plunges beneath the engulfing wave my bark that has often ridden the storm. And no trifling sea caused me to founder; no, all the billows and the ocean bore down my head. Why did I see what I saw? Why did I involve my eyes in guilt? Why did I unwittingly discover a crime? Though Actaeon did not intend to see Diana naked, he none the less became the quarry of his own hounds. Thus when the high gods are concerned even accident demands requital, and chance is no plea for mercy when God is affronted.

On the day on which fatal imprudence misled me, ruin fell upon my house which, though small, was yet unspotted: also, though small, it is yet reckoned distinguished from my forefathers' time, and not inferior to the lineage of any, and conspicuous neither for riches nor for poverty, so that a knight sprung from it is notable in neither respect. Also, even if my house is small in wealth or ancestry, it is at least saved from obscurity by my talent. And though I may be deemed to have used that talent too indiscreetly, I yet enjoy great honour from all the world; and the throng of critics is acquainted with Naso, and ventures to count him among authors that are not despised. This house then,

usque *codd.* 103 flexi *Lipsianus, Overdruck*, p. 69 109 namque $L^{3}\sigma$ 111 patrio] toto **AP** 113 et] ut **LH** 115 sit ω si **LV** sic **AGHP** 118 ab] in σ

corruit haec igitur Musis accepta, sub uno
  sed non exiguo crimine lapsa domus:
atque ea sic lapsa est, ut surgere, si modo laesi
  ematuruerit Caesaris ira, queat.
cuius in eventu poenae clementia tanta est, 125
  venerit ut nostro lenior illa metu.
vita data est, citraque necem tua constitit ira,
  o princeps parce viribus use tuis!
insuper accedunt, te non adimente, paternae,
  tamquam vita parum muneris esset, opes. 130
nec mea decreto damnasti facta senatus,
  nec mea selecto iudice iussa fuga est.
tristibus invectus verbis (ita principe dignum)
  ultus es offensas, ut decet, ipse tuas.
adde quod edictum, quamvis immite minaxque, 135
  attamen in poenae nomine lene fuit:
quippe relegatus, non exul, dicor in illo,
  privaque fortunae sunt ibi verba meae.
nulla quidem sano gravior mentisque potenti
  poena est, quam tanto displicuisse viro. 140
sed solet interdum fieri placabile numen;
  nube solet pulsa candidus ire dies.
vidi ego pampineis oneratam vitibus ulmum,
  quae fuerat saevi fulmine tacta Iovis.
ipse licet sperare vetes, sperabimus usque; 145
  hoc unum fieri te prohibente potest.
spes mihi magna subit, cum te, mitissime princeps,
  spes mihi, respicio cum mea facta, cadit.
ac veluti ventis agitantibus aera non est
  aequalis rabies continuusque furor, 150
sed modo subsidunt intermissique silescunt,
  vimque putes illos deposuisse suam:
sic abeunt redeuntque mei variantque timores,
  et spem placandi dantque negantque tui.
per superos igitur, qui dant tibi longa dabuntque 155
  tempora, Romanum si modo nomen amant,
per patriam, quae te tuta et secura parente est,
  cuius, ut in populo, pars ego nuper eram;
sic tibi, quem semper factis animoque mereris,
  reddatur gratae debitus urbis amor; 160
Livia sic tecum sociales compleat annos,
  quae, nisi te, nullo coniuge digna fuit,

122 non] tamen GPϛ 126 uenerit ut L *Leidensis* 177 ut fuerit *cett. codd.* 135 immane AHP 138 priuaque L paruaque GHV parcaque APϛ paucaque ϛ ibi ϛ tibi LΓω 139 mentis ϛ *om.* L

that was dear to the Muses, is brought low, fallen through a single, albeit no slight offence: yet it can recover from its fall, if only the anger of the affronted emperor shall relent. For his mercy is so great respecting the punishment assigned that the punishment has come in gentler fashion than I had feared. My life has been granted, and your resentment has stopped short of death, oh my sovereign, who have used your power with restraint. Moreover, as if life were too small a boon, I keep my father's fortune, which you do not confiscate. Also you did not condemn my acts by sentence of the senate, nor was my banishment ordained by a special jury, but arraigning me in stern language as a monarch should, you fitly avenged your wrongs. Also, though severe and threatening, your decree was yet merciful in the designation of my punishment; for in it I am described as removed, not banished, and in it are peculiar clauses relating to my condition. Indeed there is no heavier punishment for one that is not mad and is right-minded than to have offended majesty so great. Yet a god may sometimes be appeased, the cloud may clear and the day pass in brightness. So I have seen an elm laden with leafy vines, which had been struck by the lightning of cruel Jupiter. Though you yourself forbid me to hope, hope I will unceasingly: this one thing I can do, though you forbid. When I regard you, most merciful sovereign, my hope springs high: my hope abates, when I consider my own deeds. And, as when winds make havoc in the air, their fury is not constant nor is their frenzy lasting, but they soon sink and cease and are still, and seem to have laid aside their force, so my fears depart, return and alternate, and now promise now deny the hope that you may be appeased.

Therefore by the high gods who give and will give you length of days, if so be that they love the Roman race, by your country that with you for parent is safe and untroubled, that country in which I was lately one among the general mass; as I pray that you may receive the due tribute of the grateful City's love, which by your deeds and character you always claim; as I pray that Livia may fulfil her wedded years with you, who were her only fitting consort, for, had

menti $L^3\Gamma\omega$ 145 sperauimus L *Leidensis* 191. *d.* usque *Heinsius*
utque L atque $L^3\Gamma\omega$ 149 aera] aere L aequora ς 160 honor Pς

quae si non esset, caelebs te vita deceret,
  nullaque, cui posses esse maritus, erat;
sospite sit tecum natus quoque sospes, et olim 165
  inperium regat hic cum seniore senex;
ut faciuntque tui, sidus iuvenale, nepotes,
  per tua perque tui facta parentis eant;
sic adsueta tuis semper Victoria castris
  nunc quoque se praestet notaque signa petat, 170
Ausoniumque ducem solitis circumvolet alis,
  ponat et in nitida laurea serta coma,
per quem bella geris, cuius nunc corpore pugnas,
  auspicium cui das grande deosque tuos,
dimidioque tui es praesens et respicis urbem, 175
  dimidio procul es saevaque bella geris;
hic tibi sic redeat superato victor ab hoste,
  inque coronatis fulgeat altus equis:
parce, precor, fulmenque tuum, fera tela, reconde,
  heu nimium misero cognita tela mihi! 180
parce, pater patriae, nec nominis inmemor huius
  olim placandi spem mihi tolle tui.
non precor ut redeam, quamvis maiora petitis
  credibile est magnos saepe dedisse deos:
mitius exilium si das propiusque roganti, 185
  pars erit ex poena magna levata mea.
ultima perpetior medios eiectus in hostes,
  nec quisquam patria longius exul abest.
solus ad egressus missus septemplicis Histri
  Parrhasiae gelido virginis axe premor. 190
Ciziges et Colchi Tereteaque turba Getaeque
  Danuvii mediis vix prohibentur aquis;
cumque alii causa tibi sint graviore fugati,
  ulterior nulli, quam mihi, terra data est.
longius hac nihil est, nisi tantum frigus et hostes, 195
  et maris adstricto quae coit unda gelu.
hactenus Euxini pars est Romana Sinistri:
  proxima Bastarnae Sauromataeque tenent.
haec est Ausonio sub iure novissima, vixque
  haeret in inperii margine terra tui. 200
unde precor supplex ut nos in tuta releges,
  ne sit cum patria pax quoque dempta mihi,

165 sit tecum *Leidensis* 191 *d.* si tecum L sic te sit Γω 166 hic *Bodleianus*, *Auct. F.* 1. 18, *edd. uett.* hoc LΓω 168 sui ς 175 tui es *Némethy* tui *codd.* et] es GPV praesens es et aspicis ς

she not lived, an unwedded life would have been your proper portion, and there was no woman whom you could have taken to wife; as I pray that you may be preserved and your son also be preserved with you, and aged himself with you more aged hereafter may hold sway here on earth; and that your grandsons, those stars of chivalry, may, as they do, follow in the path of your own and your father's deeds; as I pray that Victory always constant to your hosts may now also vouchsafe her presence and attend your familiar ensigns and hover, as ever, on her wings around the Italian general and place wreaths of bay upon his glossy hair, through whom you wage wars, in whose person you now fight, to whom you entrust supreme command and your own gods, and with half of yourself are present and watch over our city, and with half are far away waging pitiless wars; as I pray that he may return for you a conqueror from the beaten foe, and be resplendent exalted in his chariot with garlanded horses; have mercy, I beseech, and lay aside your thunderbolt, your cruel weapon, weapon alas, known too well to me poor wretch. Have mercy, father of your country, and forget not that title, and take not from me the hope that some day you may relent. I do not pray that I may return, though it may well be that the high gods have often granted things greater than those asked: if you grant my petition for a milder and nearer place of exile, much of my punishment will have been removed. Thrust forth into the midst of enemies I endure the sorest distresses, and there is not any exile that is distant further from his country. I alone have been consigned to the mouths of sevenfold Danube, and am racked by the frost of the icy northern pole. The Ciziges and Colchi and horde of Teretae and the Getae are scarcely held in check by the Danube's intervening waters, and, though others have been banished by you for a weightier reason, to none has been assigned a land remoter than to me. Beyond it is naught save only cold and enemies, and sea water frozen into solid ice. This is the limit of the Roman portion of the Western Euxine; Bastarnae and Sauromatans occupy the neighbouring regions. This land is the furthest that owns the sway of Italy, and scarce clings to the fringe of your empire. I humbly entreat you to remove me from it into a safe region, that I may not be deprived of

186 parua L 191 Ciziges L Zizices HP Zaziges V Gizices A Latiges G Iazyges ω Tereteaque *Ellis* Metereaque *codd.* 198 Bastarnae ς Pasternae Γω bis ternas L 202 dempta ς adempta LΓω

ne timeam gentes, quas non bene summovet Hister,
  neve tuus possim civis ab hoste capi.
fas prohibet Latio quemquam de sanguine natum 205
  Caesaribus salvis barbara vincla pati.
perdiderint cum me duo crimina, carmen et error,
  alterius facti culpa silenda mihi:
nam non sum tanti, renovem ut tua vulnera, Caesar,
  quem nimio plus est indoluisse semel. 210
altera pars superest, qua turpi carmine factus
  arguor obsceni doctor adulterii.
fas ergo est aliqua caelestia pectora falli,
  et sunt notitia multa minora tua;
utque deos caelumque simul sublime tuenti 215
  non vacat exiguis rebus adesse Iovi,
de te pendentem sic dum circumspicis orbem,
  effugiunt curas inferiora tuas.
scilicet inperii princeps statione relicta
  inparibus legeres carmina facta modis? 220
non ea te moles Romani nominis urget,
  inque tuis umeris tam leve fertur onus,
lusibus ut possis advertere numen ineptis,
  excutiasque oculis otia nostra tuis.
nunc tibi Pannonia est, nunc Illyris ora domanda, 225
  Raetica nunc praebent Thraciaque arma metum,
nunc petit Armenius pacem, nunc porrigit arcus
  Parthus eques timida captaque signa manu,
nunc te prole tua iuvenem Germania sentit,
  bellaque pro magno Caesare Caesar obit. 230
denique, ut in tanto, quantum non extitit umquam,
  corpore pars nulla est, quae labet, inperii,
urbs quoque te et legum lassat tutela tuarum
  et morum, similis quos cupis esse tuis.
non tibi contingunt, quae gentibus otia praestas, 235
  bellaque cum multis inrequieta geris.
mirer in hoc igitur tantarum pondere rerum
  te numquam nostros evoluisse iocos?
at si, quod mallem, vacuum tibi forte fuisset,
  nullum legisses crimen in Arte mea. 240
illa quidem fateor frontis non esse severae
  scripta, nec a tanto principe digna legi:
non tamen idcirco legum contraria iussis
  sunt ea Romanas erudiuntque nurus.

210 inualuisse L 211 crimine laesus ς 213 numina AGPV
217 de] a Aς sic L ex *aut* in ς 223 lumen ς 230 obit] habet
Aω abet G agit ς 232 labat L latet P 235 non] nec AGPς

peace as well as fatherland, and may not go in fear of tribes against which the Danube is no sure defence, and I your subject may not be at the mercy of the enemy to capture. While your imperial House survives it is a crime that any man of Roman blood should suffer captivity in a foreign land.

Though two offences have been my undoing, verse and imprudence, I must be dumb as to that latter guilty act: for I do not presume to reopen your wounds, my emperor, and it is intolerable that you should once have been distressed. There is still the former count, which charges me with having been the teacher of lewd adultery in licentious verse. So it is possible that heavenly minds somehow may be mistaken, and there are many things too trifling for your knowledge; and as Jupiter, who watches both the gods and heaven aloft, has no leisure to regard paltry matters, so meaner things escape your thoughts while you survey the world that rests upon your guidance. Could you, in fact, have left your post as ruler to read verses written in uneven metre? The burden of the Roman nation which you bear is not such, nor so light the weight you carry on your shoulders, that you can turn your divine attention to frivolous love-poems and examine with your eyes my idle lines. Now you must subdue Pannonia, now the Dalmatian land, now the hosts of Raetia and Thrace occasion fear, now the Armenian sues for peace, now the Parthian horsemen with trembling hand surrender to you their bows and the captured ensigns, now Germany feels your prowess in the person of your son, and in Caesar's stead another Caesar fights. Lastly, while there is no portion of the fabric of our empire vast beyond parallel that is unsecured, you are harassed also by the City and enforcement of the laws you have enacted, and of conduct which you desire to be modelled on your own. The peace which you assure to the nations falls not to you, and there are many against whom you wage ceaseless wars. Therefore, need I wonder that, encompassed by the weight of such grave affairs, you have never read my merry lines?

But if, as I could have wished, you had chanced to have leisure so to do, you would have read no transgression in my Art of Love. I admit that those writings are not of austere aspect, and are unworthy to be read by so great a sovereign: yet this does not signify that they are in conflict with the law's commands or are instructions for young

haec V 237 miror LAϛ 239 uacuum tibi forte fuisset Γϛ uacuum fortasse fuisset Lϛ uacuus fortasse fuisses ϛ

neve, quibus scribam, possis dubitare, libellos, 245
  quattuor hos versus e tribus unus habet:
'este procul, vittae tenues, insigne pudoris,
  quaeque tegis medios instita longa pedes!
nil nisi legitimum concessaque furta canemus,
  inque meo nullum carmine crimen erit.' 250
ecquid ab hac omnes rigide summovimus Arte,
  quas stola contingi vittaque sumpta vetat?
'at matrona potest alienis artibus uti,
  quoque trahat, quamvis non doceatur, habet.'
nil igitur matrona legat, quia carmine ab omni 255
  ad delinquendum doctior esse potest.
quodcumque attigerit siqua est studiosa sinistri,
  ad vitium mores instruet inde suos.
sumpserit Annales (nihil est hirsutius illis)
  facta sit unde parens Ilia, nempe leget. 260
sumpserit 'Aeneadum genetrix' ubi prima, requiret,
  Aeneadum genetrix unde sit alma Venus.
persequar inferius, modo si licet ordine ferri,
  posse nocere animis carminis omne genus.
non tamen idcirco crimen liber omnis habebit. 265
  nil prodest, quod non laedere possit idem.
igne quid utilius? siquis tamen urere tecta
  comparat, audaces instruit igne manus.
eripit interdum, modo dat medicina salutem,
  quaeque iuvet, monstrat, quaeque sit herba nocens. 270
et latro et cautus praecingitur ense viator;
  ille sed insidias, hic sibi portat opem.
discitur innocuas ut agat facundia causas;
  protegit haec sontes, inmeritosque premit.
sic igitur carmen, recta si mente legatur, 275
  constabit nulli posse nocere meum.
'at quasdam vitio.' quicumque hoc concipit, errat,
  et nimium scriptis arrogat ille meis.
ut tamen hoc fatear, ludi quoque semina praebent
  nequitiae: tolli tota theatra iube. 280
peccandi causam multi quam saepe dederunt,
  Martia cum durum sternit harena solum!
tollatur Circus; non tuta licentia Circi est:
  hic sedet ignoto iuncta puella viro.
cum quaedam spatientur in hoc, ut amator eodem 285
  conveniat, quare porticus ulla patet?

245 libellus AS 249 nil nisi legitimum] nos uenerem tutam VS 251 rigide S rigida L rigidas Γω 254 quodque G³S 277 quasdam uicio L quodam uitio *Canonicianus* quasdam uitiat HV quaedam uitia AG quisdam (*uel* quaedam)

Roman girls. And that you may not doubt for whom I write my books, one of the three contains these four lines;

'Far hence be you, ye narrow headbands, token of modesty, and thou, long flounce, that dost half cover the feet. I shall sing only of what is lawful, and permitted frailties, and there shall be no transgression in my verse.'

Have I not strictly debarred from my Art all with whom the robe and headband they wear forbids dalliance?

'But (it is said) the matron can employ devices framed for others, and, though your lessons be not for her, finds in your poem a means by which she can allure.' The matron then should read nothing, since any sort of verse may make her defter in infidelity. Whatever book a woman bent on evil opens, she will by its means train her heart for sin. If she turns to the most stern of works, the Annals, she will perforce read how Ilia became a parent. If she turns to that which sets forth with 'the ancestress of the race of Aeneas' she will seek to know through whom gracious Venus became the ancestress of Aeneas' race. If I may pursue my argument's course, I will explain hereafter that natures may be corrupted by every kind of verse. Yet every book will not therefore incur guilt. Nothing that benefits may not also harm. What is more useful than fire? Yet one that purposes to burn houses provides his villain hands with it. Physic sometimes impairs and often gives health, and teaches what drug is salutary and what harmful. The robber and the wary traveller alike gird on the sword, but the robber carries it to waylay, the other for his own defence. We learn the speaker's art to champion the innocent in the dock; yet it defends the guilty and assails the unoffending. It will thus be clear that my poem can harm none, if it is read with right intention.

'But' (it is said) 'I corrupt some women.' He that fancies this is wrong, and claims too much for my writings. But, even if I admit this, the shows likewise lay seeds of immorality; so you should order all theatres to be closed. When sand is strewn upon the hard ground for the combat, how many men have provided an occasion for wantonness! The circus should be abolished, the freedom of the circus is not safe: there the girl sits beside some man a stranger to her. Why is a single colonnade left open, since some women walk in these with design to meet a lover there? What place is more holy than temples? The woman that

uitiat **P** quoddam uitium ω 278 abrogat ω 281 multi quam **L** quam multi ϛ quam multis Γω 282 cur **L** sternat **LAGH**ϛ 285 hac ω eadem **P**ϛ

quis locus est templis augustior? haec quoque vitet,
  in culpam siqua est ingeniosa suam.
cum steterit Iovis aede, Iovis succurret in aede,
  quam multas matres fecerit ille deus. 290
proxima adoranti Iunonis templa subibit,
  paelicibus multis hanc doluisse deam.
Pallade conspecta, natum de crimine virgo
  sustulerit quare, quaeret, Erichthonium.
venerit in magni templum, tua munera, Martis, 295
  stat Venus Vltori iuncta, vir ante fores.
Isidis aede sedens, cur hanc Saturnia, quaeret,
  egerit Ionio Bosporioque mari.
in Venerem Anchises, in Lunam Latmius heros,
  in Cererem Iasion, qui referatur, erit. 300
omnia perversas possunt corrumpere mentes;
  stant tamen illa suis omnia tuta locis.
et procul a scripta solis meretricibus Arte
  summovet ingenuas pagina prima manus.
quaecumque erupit, qua non sinit ire sacerdos, 305
  protinus huic dempti criminis ipsa rea est.
nec tamen est facinus versus evolvere mollis:
  multa licet castae non facienda legant.
saepe supercilii nudas matrona severi
  et Veneris stantis ad genus omne videt. 310
corpora Vestales oculi meretricia cernunt,
  nec domino poenae res ea causa fuit.
'at cur in nostra nimia est lascivia Musa,
  curve meus cuiquam suadet amare liber?'
nil nisi peccatum manifestaque culpa fatenda est: 315
  paenitet ingenii iudiciique mei.
cur non Argolicis potius quae concidit armis
  vexata est iterum carmine Troia meo?
cur tacui Thebas et vulnera mutua fratrum,
  et septem portas, sub duce quamque suo? 320
nec mihi materiam bellatrix Roma negabat,
  et pius est patriae facta referre labor.
denique cum meritis inpleveris omnia, Caesar,
  pars mihi de multis una canenda fuit,
utque trahunt oculos radiantia lumina solis, 325
  traxissent animum sic tua facta meum.
arguor inmerito. tenuis mihi campus aratur:
  illud erat magnae fertilitatis opus.
non ideo debet pelago se credere, siqua
  audet in exiguo ludere cumba lacu. 330

296 uir L uiro *cett. codd.* 300 Iasion ς Iason LΓω Iasius ς
304 nurus ς 305 irrumpit ς quo ς 306 huic *Rothmaler* hinc

is minded to her own dishonour should avoid them also. When she stands within Jupiter's sanctuary, in Jupiter's sanctuary she will recollect how many women that god made mothers. When she worships at Juno's temple beside it, she will think of that goddess's resentment at his many lemans. When she beholds Pallas she will ask why the virgin goddess reared Erichthonius the child of sin. If she enters the temple of great Mars, your benefaction, there Venus stands beside the Avenger, and Venus' husband is outside before the door. Seated in Isis' sanctuary she will ask why Saturn's daughter drove her across the Ionian and the Bosporus sea. Anchises will be a scandal against Venus, Endymion of Latmus against the Moon, and Iasion against Ceres. Though all those temples may tempt depraved hearts inclined to sin, yet they all stand secure each in its several place. Besides, my first page utterly debars honest women from my Art of Love, written only for harlots. She that has broken bounds by a path forbidden by the priest, is forthwith guilty of offence, and he absolved from it. Yet after all it is no crime to peruse amorous verses: pure women may read many things they must not do. The matron of austere brow often sees naked jades offering themselves for every sort of lewdness. The eyes of vestal virgins behold the persons of harlots, yet that fact has been no reason for the brothel-keeper's punishment.

'But' (I am asked) 'why is there excessive wantonness in my poem, or why does my book preach to any at all the gospel of love?' I must simply admit my fault and clear guilt. I regret my talent and my resolve.

Why did I not rather in my verse once more beleaguer Troy, by Grecian host destroyed? Why did I not celebrate Thebes, and brother's blood by brother shed, and the seven gates each allotted to its several chief? Also warlike Rome afforded me an ample subject, and to record one's country's prowess is a patriotic task. Lastly since, my sovereign, you have filled the world with your deserts, I should have chosen one portion of that multitude to sing, and as the sun's bright rays attract the eyes, so should your exploits have attracted my mind. I am charged unjustly. I plough a field of meagre soil: that other was a labour of extensive contents. The skiff that ventures to frolic in a tiny lake must not therefore brave the open sea. Per-

aut hic ς haec LΓω dempti . . . ipsa] uetiti . . . acta ς 315 fatendum GHPVς 319 uulnera mutua L *Leidensis* 177 mutua uulnera Γω

forsan (et hoc dubitem) numeris levioribus aptus
  sim satis, in parvos sufficiamque modos:
at si me iubeas domitos Iovis igne Gigantas
  dicere, conantem debilitabit onus.
divitis ingenii est inmania Caesaris acta 335
  condere, materia ne superetur opus.
et tamen ausus eram; sed detrectare videbar,
  quodque nefas, damno viribus esse tuis.
ad leve rursus opus, iuvenalia carmina, veni,
  et falso movi pectus amore meum. 340
non equidem vellem: sed me mea fata trahebant,
  inque meas poenas ingeniosus eram.
ei mihi, quod didici! cur me docuere parentes,
  litteraque est oculos ulla morata meos?
haec tibi me invisum lascivia fecit, ob Artes, 345
  quis ratus es vetitos sollicitare toros.
sed neque me nuptae didicerunt furta magistro,
  quodque parum novit, nemo docere potest.
sic ego delicias et mollia carmina feci,
  strinxerit ut nomen fabula nulla meum. 350
nec quisquam est adeo media de plebe maritus,
  ut dubius vitio sit pater ille meo.
crede mihi, distant mores a carmine nostro
  (vita verecunda est, Musa iocosa mea)
magnaque pars mendax operum est et ficta meorum: 355
  plus sibi permisit compositore suo.
nec liber indicium est animi, sed honesta voluptas:
  plurima mulcendis auribus apta feres.
Accius esset atrox, conviva Terentius esset,
  essent pugnaces qui fera bella canunt. 360
denique composui teneros non solus amores:
  composito poenas solus amore dedi.
quid, nisi cum multo Venerem confundere vino,
  praecepit lyrici Teia Musa senis?
Lesbia quid docuit Sappho, nisi amare, puellas? 365
  tuta tamen Sappho, tutus et ille fuit.
nec tibi, Battiade, nocuit, quod saepe legenti
  delicias versu fassus es ipse tuas.
fabula iucundi nulla est sine amore Menandri,
  et solet hic pueris virginibusque legi. 370
Ilias ipsa quid est aliud, nisi adultera, de qua
  inter amatorem pugna virumque fuit?

333 Gigantes *codd.* : *corr. Heinsius* 343 quod AS quid LGHPVS cur S 346 quis L quas $L^2\Gamma$(qua G)ω sollicitasse S 354 iocata L *corr.* L^3 357 uoluptas V *Parisinus* 8239 uoluntas *cett. codd.* 358 fores

haps (though I may question it) I am competent for lighter rhythms and adept in trifling measures; but if you bid me recount the Giants' overthrow by the lightning of Jupiter, the burden will be too great an effort for my strength. It needs rich talent to rehearse Caesar's stupendous deeds, that the performance may not fall short of the theme. Yet I had indeed attempted this, but was judged to belittle and disparage your achievements, which is treason. So I turned back to frivolous work, the poetry of youth, and stirred my spirit with pretended passion. I would indeed I had not: but my destiny compelled me, and I lavished my talent on my own destruction.

Alack! for my schooling! Why did my parents teach me? And why has any letter claimed my eyes' attention? My wantonness caused you to hate me for my Art of Love, by which you thought that I tempt to dishonouring lawful wedlock. Yet wedded wives have not learned intrigues by my instruction, and none can teach that of which he has no knowledge. Though I have written love poems and amorous verses, yet has no scandal injured my name. And there is not any husband of degree however humble that he need suspect his children bastard through my sin. Believe me, my conduct is other than my verse (my life is virtuous, although my Muse is free) and a large part of my writings is unreal and fantastic, and has indulged in greater freedom than its author. Also the book is not evidence of my character, but is a harmless diversion: you will find in it many things suited to amuse the reader. If this were not so with books, Accius must needs have been murderous, Terence a reveller, those who sing of pitiless wars must have loved battle. Indeed, though not I alone have written of love's soft raptures, I alone have suffered punishment for writing of love.

What did the old singer of Teos enjoin but to drink deep and dally with love? What did Sappho of Lesbos teach her girls except to love? Yet Sappho went unpunished, and unpunished went Anacreon. And no harm befell you, son of Battus, because in verse you often disclosed to your reader your own gallantries. No play of blithe Menander is without its love-plot, yet is he always read by boys and maidens. What else is even the Iliad but the tale of an adulteress concerning whom there was battle between her gallant and her husband? What does it begin with but

P feret AG ferens ς refert G^3ς 359 Accius ecce Lγ 364 Thesea L 371 aliud nisi] nisi turpis ς

quid prius est illi flamma Briseidos, utque
  fecerit iratos rapta puella duces?
aut quid Odyssea est, nisi femina propter amorem, 375
  dum vir abest, multis una petita viris?
quis, nisi Maeonides, Venerem Martemque ligatos
  narrat in obsceno corpora prensa toro?
unde nisi indicio magni sciremus Homeri
  hospitis igne duas incaluisse deas? 380
omne genus scripti gravitate tragoedia vincit:
  haec quoque materiam semper amoris habet.
numquid in Hippolyto, nisi caecae flamma novercae?
  nobilis est Canace fratris amore sui.
quid? non Tantalides agitante Cupidine currus 385
  Pisaeam Phrygiis vexit eburnus equis?
tingeret ut ferrum natorum sanguine mater,
  concitus a laeso fecit amore dolor.
fecit amor subitas volucres cum paelice regem
  quaeque suum luget nunc quoque mater Ityn. 390
si non Aeropen frater sceleratus amasset,
  aversos Solis non legeremus equos.
inpia nec tragicos tetigisset Scylla coturnos,
  ni patrium crinem desecuisset amor.
qui legis Electran et egentem mentis Oresten, 395
  Aegisthi crimen Tyndaridosque legis.
nam quid de tetrico referam domitore Chimaerae,
  quem leto fallax hospita paene dedit?
quid loquar Hermionen, quid te, Schoeneia virgo,
  teque, Mycenaeo Phoebas amata duci? 400
quid Danaen Danaesque nurum matremque Lyaei
  Haemonaque et noctes cui coiere duae?
quid Peliae generum, quid Thesea, quive Pelasgum
  Iliacam tetigit de rate primus humum?
huc Iole Pyrrhique parens, huc Herculis uxor, 405
  huc accedat Hylas Iliacusque puer.
tempore deficiar, tragicos si persequar ignes,
  vixque meus capiet nomina nuda liber.
est et in obscenos commixta tragoedia risus,
  multaque praeteriti verba pudoris habet. 410
nec nocet auctori, mollem qui fecit Achillem,
  infregisse suis fortia facta modis.

373 illic ς Chryseidos ς aut quae ω 376 procis ς 378 pressa L ς 383 num L nam *cett. codd.* est *add. post* Hippolyto L^3 G V ς *post* caecae A H P 391 Aeropen *Politian* Meropen L ς Europen *similia* Γ ω 401 nurus ς 402 cui . . . duae *Rover* quae (qui L) . . . duas *codd.*

Briseis passionately loved, and how the seizure of the damsel brought enmity between the chieftains? Or what is the Odyssey but the wooing for love by many men of one woman, while her husband was abroad? Who but the son of Maeon tells of Venus and Mars enmeshed, their bodies caught in the lecherous bed? Whence save by great Homer's avowal should we have known that goddesses twain were fevered with love-fire for a stranger? Tragedy surpasses every style of writing in elevation, yet it also always presents the theme of love. What in Hippolytus is shown but the passion of a stepmother blinded by desire? Canace is famous by reason of her love for her own brother. Also did not Love drive the chariot when the ivory-shouldered son of Tantalus carried the maid of Pisa with his Phrygian steeds? Resentment roused by slighted love impelled a mother to imbrue the sword with her own sons' blood. Love changed in an instant into birds a king and his leman and that mother who yet now laments her Itys. If her incestuous brother had not loved Aerope we should not have read that the Sun's steeds turned back in their course. And unrighteous Scylla would never have appeared in tragic buskin, if she had not through love cut off her father's lock of hair. You that read of Electra and frenzied Orestes, read also of the sin of Aegisthus and Tyndareus' daughter. Indeed why need I tell of the austere conqueror of the Chimaera whom his treacherous hostess well nigh consigned to death? Why allege Hermione, or you, maiden daughter of Schoeneus, and you, priestess of Phoebus, loved by the chieftain of Mycenae? or Danae and the daughter-in-law of Danae, and Lyaeus' mother, and Haemon, and her for whom two nights were united into one? or Pelias' son-in-law, or Theseus, or that Greek who first disembarked upon the soil of Troy? Iole also I may name, and the mother of Pyrrhus, and Hercules' wife, and Hylas and the Trojan lad. Time will fail me if I relate the fiery loves of Tragedy, and my book will scarce contain the bare names. There is also a kind of Tragedy contaminated to provoke coarse laughter, and it often contains immodest language; and the author who pictured Achilles as unmanly suffers no harm because in his verses he sullied with effeminacy valiant deeds.

403 Peliae (Peli L) generum L *Parisinus* 8239 *Leidensis* 177 generum Peliae (pelagi GV) Γω quiue *Genoueuensis* quisue L quidue Γω 404 de rate L³Γ darete L qui rate ω 406 Iliadesue A Iliadesque ς 407 deficiam GHVς 409 commixta GHP commista L³ *in ras.* V deflexa ω

iunxit Aristides Milesia crimina secum,
  pulsus Aristides nec tamen urbe sua est.
nec qui descripsit corrumpi semina matrum, 415
  Eubius, inpurae conditor historiae,
nec qui composuit nuper Sybaritica, fugit,
  nec qui concubitus non tacuere suos.
suntque ea doctorum monumentis mixta virorum,
  muneribusque ducum publica facta patent. 420
neve peregrinis tantum defendar ab armis,
  et Romanus habet multa iocosa liber.
utque suo Martem cecinit gravis Ennius ore,
  Ennius ingenio maximus, arte rudis;
explicat ut causas rapidi Lucretius ignis, 425
  casurumque triplex vaticinatur opus;
sic sua lascivo cantata est saepe Catullo
  femina, cui falsum Lesbia nomen erat,
nec contentus ea, multos vulgavit amores,
  in quibus ipse suum fassus adulterium est. 430
par fuit exigui similisque licentia Calvi,
  detexit variis qui sua furta modis.
quid referam Ticidae, quid Memmi carmen, apud quos
  rebus adest nomen nominibusque pudor?
Cinna quoque his comes est, Cinnaque procacior Anser, 435
  et leve Cornufici parque Catonis opus;
et quorum libris, modo dissimulata Perillae
  nomine, nunc legitur dicta, Metelle, tuo?
is quoque, Phasiacas Argon qui duxit in undas,
  non potuit Veneris furta tacere suae. 440
nec minus Hortensi, nec sunt minus improba Servi
  carmina. quis dubitet nomina tanta sequi?
vertit Aristiden Sisenna, nec offuit illi
  historiae turpis inseruisse iocos.
non fuit opprobrio celebrasse Lycorida Gallo, 445
  sed linguam nimio non tenuisse mero.
credere iuranti durum putat esse Tibullus,
  sic etiam de se quod neget illa viro:
fallere custodes idem docuisse fatetur,
  seque sua miserum nunc ait arte premi. 450
saepe, velut gemmam dominae signumve probaret,
  per causam meminit se tetigisse manum,
utque refert, digitis saepe est nutuque locutus,
  et tacitam mensae duxit in orbe notam;

419 mixta A(!)ω saxa L texta GHPV 426 casurumque *codex Merulae et Bononiensis Heinsii* causarumque LΓω 432 furta ϛ facta LΓω 433 Memmi] denique L 436 Cornufici *Ehwald* Cornifici *codd.* 437 Perillae *Bernensis* per illos LΓω 448 sic *Dousa et*

Aristides linked with himself Milesian infamies, yet Aristides was not banished from his city. Nor was Eubius, the writer of an unclean story, who recounted births checked within the womb, nor he that lately wrote the mysteries of Sybaris, nor they that shunned not to reveal their own embraces, and these stand in the shelves beside the masterpieces of illustrious poets, and through our generals' liberalities may be read by all.

And that I may not need to invoke foreign hosts alone in my defence, the literature of Rome also contains many mirthful themes. And though majestic Ennius sang of war with diction meet for his high argument, Ennius pre-eminent in talent though in art imperfect; though Lucretius explores the causes of consuming fire, and forecasts that the world's threefold fabric will be destroyed; still wanton Catullus often celebrated his lady, under the veiled name of Lesbia, and not content with her blazoned his many loves, in which he acknowledged his own infidelity. Equal and like freedom was shown by pigmy Calvus, who disclosed his secret adventures in divers metres. Why should I quote the verse of Ticidas and Memmius, who attach to things their name, and shame attaches to the names? Cinna also is their fellow, and Anser more daring than Cinna, and the work of Cornuficius and of Cato each concerning light love; and those are their fellows in whose books she that was lately concealed under the name Perilla is now read of called by your name, Metellus. Also the singer of the voyage of Argo to the waters of Phasis could not leave untold his secret love adventures. And the poems of Hortensius and Servius are no less shameless. Who need hesitate to follow in the train of these illustrious names? Sisenna translated Aristides, and it caused him no harm that he engrafted in his history unseemly jests. The dishonour of Gallus was not that he sung Lycoris' praises but that he did not bridle his tongue when flown with wine. Tibullus thinks it hard to believe his mistress' protestation on oath, because she also makes the same sort of denials about himself to her husband: moreover, he avows that he taught her to deceive her guards, and says that he, poor wretch, is now caught by his own trick. He remembers that he often touched her hand on the plea of appraising his lady's jewel or device, and tells how he often spoke to her with fingers and a nod, and traced a mute sign on the round table; and

Heinsius hic LS hoc Γω 449 custodes idem *Francius* custoden ////// L custodem tandem L³GHPV custodem demum ω 451 signumque HS

et quibus e sucis abeat de corpore livor, 455
  inpresso fieri qui solet ore, docet:
denique ab incauto nimium petit ille marito,
  se quoque uti servet, peccet ut illa minus.
scit, qui latretur, cum solus obambulet, ipsas
  cui totiens clausas excreet ante fores, 460
multaque dat furti talis praecepta docetque
  qua nuptae possint fallere ab arte viros.
non fuit hoc illi fraudi, legiturque Tibullus
  et placet, et iam te principe notus erat.
invenies eadem blandi praecepta Properti: 465
  destrictus minima nec tamen ille nota est.
his ego successi, quoniam praestantia candor
  nomina vivorum dissimulare iubet.
non timui, fateor, ne, qua tot iere carinae,
  naufraga servatis omnibus una foret. 470
sunt aliis scriptae, quibus alea luditur, artes
  (hoc erat ad nostros non leve crimen avos),
quid valeant tali, quo possis plurima iactu
  figere, damnosos effugiasve canes,
tessera quos habeat numeros, distante vocato 475
  mittere quo deceat, quo dare missa modo,
discolor ut recto grassetur limite miles,
  cum medius gemino calculus hoste perit,
ut bellare sequens sciat et revocare priorem,
  nec tuto fugiens incomitatus eat; 480
parva sit ut ternis instructa tabella lapillis,
  in qua vicisse est continuasse suos;
quique alii lusus (neque enim nunc persequar omnes)
  perdere, rem caram, tempora nostra solent.
ecce canit formas alius iactusque pilarum, 485
  hic artem nandi praecipit, ille trochi,
composita est aliis fucandi cura coloris,
  hic epulis leges hospitioque dedit;
alter humum, de qua fingantur pocula, monstrat,
  quaeque, docet, liquido testa sit apta mero. 490
talia luduntur fumoso mense Decembri,
  quae damno nulli composuisse fuit.
his ego deceptus non tristia carmina feci,
  sed tristis nostros poena secuta iocos.

457 ille *Vaticanus Heinsii* illa LΓω 459 qui *Heinsius* cui *codd.* obambulat ς ipsas *scripsi* ipsa *Bodleianus Auct. F.* 1. 17 ipse LΓω 460 qui Aς cur ς 466 destrictus GHV destructus L districtus ω 472 haec G erat *Londiniensis Musei Britannici* est *cett. codd.* 474 fingere AGHPω effugiasque ς 479 bellare *Vogel* mare uelle L male uelle GV mage uelle AHPω sequi ω 481 sit ut ternis *Ehwald*

teaches by what liniments the mark may be effaced from the body which is ever caused by the pressure of the lover's teeth; he is even over eager in begging the unwary husband to watch himself among the rest that she may sin the less. He knows at whom the dog barks when he promenades alone, and to whom he coughs so often close beside the bolted door, and he gives many lessons in such stratagem, and teaches by what guile wives may deceive their husbands. This did not harm him, and Tibullus is read and approved, and was renowned already when you became our sovereign. You will find that the doctrine of subtle Propertius is the same, yet he was not assailed by the least disgrace. Their heritage passed to me, for charity bids me conceal distinguished names of living men. I confess I did not fear that one ship would founder on the voyage travelled by so many, when all the rest came safe to port.

Some have described the skill employed in games of chance, by our ancestors regarded as no slight offence, what are the scores of knuckle-bones, by what cast you can secure the highest throw, or avoid the ruinous aces, of what sort are the dice in backgammon, how it is best to throw and how to place the throws, when a blot has been attacked, how the different coloured draughtsmen march forth in a straight line, when a piece caught between two adversaries is imperilled, how one advancing may be skilful to attack and rescue a piece moved forward, and retreating may move safely not uncovered; how a small board has been furnished with three marbles for each side, on which to have brought his own pieces into an unbroken line wins the player's match; and other games, all which I will not now describe, that often waste our precious hours. See another sings the shapes and throws of balls, one instructs in the art of swimming, another of the hoop, others have described the care bestowed on painting the complexion, and one has ordained rules for the banquet and for entertainment; yet another prescribes the clay from which cups should be moulded, and teaches what kind of jar is suited for the liquor of wine. Such poems are our pastimes in the fire-lit month of December, and to have penned them has brought injury to none.

Misled by these examples I wrote poems that are not mournful, but mournful retribution has resulted on my

sed uternis **L** sed internis **L**^{3}**GHV** sed interius **P** sedet ternis **ω**
486 nandi] mandi **L** amandi **GH** disci *Francofurtanus* 487 fucandi **GVS** fuscandi **LAHPω**

denique nec video tot de scribentibus unum, 495
quem sua perdiderit Musa; repertus ego.
quid, si scripsissem mimos obscena iocantes,
qui semper vetiti crimen amoris habent:
in quibus assidue cultus procedit adulter,
verbaque dat stulto callida nupta viro? 500
nubilis hos virgo matronaque virque puerque
spectat, et ex magna parte senatus adest.
nec satis incestis temerari vocibus aures,
adsuescunt oculi multa pudenda pati;
cumque fefellit amans aliqua novitate maritum 505
plauditur et magno palma favore datur;
quoque minus prodest, scaena est lucrosa poetae,
tantaque non parvo crimina praetor emit.
inspice ludorum sumptus, Auguste, tuorum:
empta tibi magno talia multa leges. 510
haec tu spectasti spectandaque saepe dedisti
(maiestas adeo comis ubique tua est)
luminibusque tuis, totus quibus utitur orbis,
scaenica vidisti lentus adulteria.
scribere si fas est imitantes turpia mimos, 515
materiae minor est debita poena meae.
an genus hoc scripti faciunt sua pulpita tutum,
quodque licet, mimis scaena licere dedit?
et mea sunt populo saltata poemata saepe,
saepe oculos etiam detinuere tuos. 520
scilicet in domibus nostris ut prisca virorum
artificis fulgent corpora picta manu,
sic quae concubitus varios Venerisque figuras
exprimat, est aliquo parva tabella loco;
utque sedet vultu fassus Telamonius iram, 525
inque oculis facinus barbara mater habet,
sic madidos siccat digitis Venus uda capillos,
et modo maternis tecta videtur aquis.
bella sonant alii telis instructa cruentis,
parsque tui generis, pars tua facta canunt. 530
invida me spatio natura coercuit arto,
ingenio vires exiguasque dedit.
et tamen ille tuae felix Aeneidos auctor
contulit in Tyrios arma virumque toros,
nec legitur pars ulla magis de corpore toto, 535
quam non legitimo foedere iunctus amor.

495 de tot ω 498 uetiti ς uicti LGHPV iunctum A uincti *aut* iuncti *aut* ficti ς 501 hos ς hoc LGHVς haec *aut* hic ς 507 quoque Lς quodque Γω scaena *Heumann* poena *codd.* 514 laetus ς

sallies. Indeed not even one do I see of these many writers that has been ruined by his verse; save me I find no other.

What if I had written farces with coarse jests, which always incur the guilt of depicting illicit love, wherein the smart adulterer is a constant figure, and the cunning wife hoodwinks her foolish husband? Yet they are witnessed by girls ripe for wedlock, married women, men and boys, and most of the lords of Rome are there. And it is not enough that the ears are polluted by foul words, the eyes become used to suffer many shameful sights: and when the lover has deceived the husband by some surprise there is applause and with loud acclamation the play is judged the best; and the less his drama enforces virtue, the more profit the poet reaps, and the praetor purchases these foul improprieties for no paltry sum. If you examine, my Prince, the record of the outlays on your shows, you will read of many such for which you have paid a high price. You have watched them yourself, and have often paid the cost of their production (so gracious in every way is your great heart), and with your eyes, which regard the whole world, you have beheld without concern adulteries on the stage. If it is lawful to write farces, in which gross scenes are acted, my theme is less deserving of punishment than these. Does its special stage protect this class of writing, and is their licence granted to farces because they are plays? My own poems also have been performed publicly by dancers, and have often been viewed even by your eyes.

Thus, while in our houses there are glorious pictures of the figures of ancient worthies limned by the painter's hand, yet in some corner is a small canvas that portrays the various postures and modes of love; and while the son of Telamon sits manifesting his wrath by his aspect, and the foreign mother shows murder written in her eyes, yet dripping Venus drys her wet locks with her fingers, and is seen just risen from the waters that gave her birth.

Others proclaim your wars embattled with murderous weapons, and some sing the exploits of your race and some your own, but jealous nature has confined me within a narrow sphere, and granted meagre power to my talent. Yet even the fortunate poet of your own Aeneid brought his armed hero to the bed of the Tyrian queen, and no part of his whole work is more read than that which tells of love united by unlawful compact. He also in youth had already

521 nostris ϛ uestris LΓω 522 artifici AGHPϛ 530 cani GPVϛ 531 inuidiã spacio L

Phyllidis hic idem teneraeque Amaryllidis ignes
  bucolicis iuvenis luserat ante modis.
nos quoque iam pridem scripto peccavimus isto:
  supplicium patitur non nova culpa novum; 540
carminaque edideram, cum te delicta notantem
  praeterii totiens inrequietus eques.
ergo quae iuvenis mihi non nocitura putavi
  scripta parum prudens, nunc nocuere seni.
sera redundavit veteris vindicta libelli, 545
  distat et a meriti tempore poena sui.
ne tamen omne meum credas opus esse remissum,
  saepe dedi nostrae grandia vela rati.
sex ego Fastorum scripsi totidemque libellos,
  cumque suo finem mense volumen habet, 550
idque tuo nuper scriptum sub nomine, Caesar,
  et tibi sacratum sors mea rupit opus.
et dedimus tragicis scriptum regale coturnis,
  quaeque gravis debet verba coturnus habet;
dictaque sunt nobis, quamvis manus ultima coeptis 555
  defuit, in facies corpora versa novas.
atque utinam revoces animum paulisper ab ira,
  et vacuo iubeas hinc tibi pauca legi,
pauca, quibus prima surgens ab origine mundi
  in tua deduxi tempora, Caesar, opus. 560
aspicies, quantum dederis mihi pectoris ipse,
  quoque favore animi teque tuosque canam.
non ego mordaci destrinxi carmine quemquam,
  nec meus ullius crimina versus habet.
candidus a salibus suffusis felle refugi: 565
  nulla venenato littera mixta ioco est.
inter tot populi, tot scriptis, milia nostri,
  quem mea Calliope laeserit, unus ero.
non igitur nostris ullum gaudere Quiritem
  auguror, at multos indoluisse malis; 570
nec mihi credibile est, quemquam insultasse iacenti,
  gratia candori si qua relata meo est.
his, precor, atque aliis possint tua numina flecti,
  o pater, o patriae cura salusque tuae!
non ut in Ausoniam redeam, nisi forsitan olim, 575
  cum longo poenae tempore victus eris,
tutius exilium pauloque quietius oro,
  ut par delicto sit mea poena suo.

537 tenerosque HPϛ 542 inrequietus LΓω inreprehensus H²
Guelferbytanus Extr. 76, 3 iure quietus ϛ 543 iuuenis LAϛ iuueni

sung in soft pastoral measures of passionings for Phyllis and gentle Amaryllis.

I too long ago offended by such writing; but the fault is old, the punishment is new; and I had published my poems at the time when I often passed in review before your tribunal of transgressions, a knight without reproach. So the writings, which in youth's unreason I thought would not harm me, have harmed me when old. Retribution for a boyish poem has descended too late, and the punishment is remote from the time of the offence concerned. But that you may not believe that all my work is wanton, I have often voyaged with ample sails into the sea of verse. I have written a Calendar in twice six books, and each roll closes with its own month, and my disaster has arrested this work in whose front page I had just set your name, my emperor, and which I had dedicated to you. Also I have enriched the tragic stage with a royal drama in language such as the grand tragic style must needs employ; and, though my attempt lacks the final touch, I have recounted the changes of bodies into new shapes. And would that you could withdraw your heart a little while from anger, and order a few lines of this work to be read to you in an idle hour, the few lines in which, my emperor, beginning from the first creation of the world, I have conducted my work down to your own epoch. You will see what high inspiration you have yourself imparted, and with what devotion of heart I celebrate you and your house. I have not attacked any man in spiteful verse, nor do my lines contain charges against any person. My gentle heart has shrunk from embittered sarcasm, not one letter has been infused with venomous jest. Though I have written so many thousand verses, I shall be the only one among all the thousands of our nation whom my Muse has injured. Therefore I fancy that no single Roman rejoices at my misfortunes, though many have deplored them, and, if any gratitude has been manifested for my gentleness, I cannot believe that any one has mocked at me in my distress. I entreat that your divinity may be moved by these and other pleas, O father, O guardian and salvation of your country! I ask not to return to Italy, unless perchance some day, when you shall have been appeased by the long duration of my punishment, but for a safer and somewhat more tranquil place of exile, that my punishment may be commensurate with my offence.

GHPVω 550 uolumen] libellus ς 555 coeptis HP coepti L coepto AGVω 567 scriptis L scripti *cett. codd.* 568 ego ς 572 est *om.* ς

COMMENTARY

1–2. Imitated by Martial II. 22. 1 'quid mihi vobiscum est, o Phoebe novemque sorores? ecce nocet vati Musa iocosa suo'.

1. **quid mihi vobiscum est**, literally 'what belongs to me that is shared in by you', a phrase denoting impatience, found in other authors, Plaut. Aul. 631 'quid tibi mecum est commerci?' Bacch. 117 'quid tibi commercist cum dis damnosissimis?' Ter. Ad. 177 'quid tibi rei mecumst?' Tibull. I. 6. 3 'quid tibi saevitiae mecum est?' Prop. III. 3. 15 'quid tibi cum tali, demens, est flumine?' Plin. Ep. I. 5. 3 'quid tibi cum meis mortuis?' It is a favourite idiom with Ovid, Am. I. 7. 27 'quid mihi vobiscum?' II. 19. 57 'quid mihi cum facili, quid cum lenone marito?' III. 6. 87 'quid mecum, furiose, tibi?' 8. 49 'quid tibi cum pelago?' H. 6. 47 'quid tibi cum Minyis, quid cum Dodonide pinu?' (rendered by Planudes *τί μοι καὶ τοῖς Μινύαις; τί μοι καὶ τῇ Δωδωνίδι νηΐ*; cp. Matthew 8. 29 *τί ἡμῖν καὶ σοί*;) 14. 65 'quid mihi cum ferro?' 15. 52 'quid mihi cum Lesbo?' A. A. I. 305 'quid tibi cum speculo?' 693 'quid tibi cum calathis?' T. III. 11. 55 'quid mihi cum Siculis?' 13. 11 'quid tibi cum Ponto?' F. II. 101 'quid tibi cum gladio?' III. 3 'forsitan ipse roges, quid sit cum Marte poetae?' IV. 3 'quid tibi, ait, mecum?' M. I. 456 'quid tibi cum fortibus armis?'

cura often signifies (1) thought or pains devoted to literary work, especially poetry: I. 11. 12 'omnis ab hac cura cura levata mea est'. IV. 1. 93 'cui nunc haec cura laborat?' Am. II. 18. 13 'curaque tragoedia nostra crevit'. A. A. III. 412 'operataque doctis cura vigil Musis nomen inertis habet'. P. I. 5. 11 'non libet in talis animum contendere curas, nec venit ad duros Musa vocata Getas'. III. 4. 77 'opus curae culpetur ut undique nostrae'. IV. 2. 50 'huc aliquod curae mitte recentis opus'. F. IV. 192 'has curae iussit adesse meae'. Mart. X. 2. 1 'festinata prior decimi mihi cura libelli'. From the above meaning it comes to mean (2) the concrete result of such effort, literary work, as here: Mart. I. 25. 1 'ede tuos tandem populo, Faustine, libellos . . . ante fores stantem dubitas admittere Famam, teque piget curae praemia ferre tuae?' 66. 5 'secreta quaere carmina et rudes curas'. 107. 5 'condere victuras temptem per saecula curas'. Tac. A. III. 24. 4 'si plures ad curas (works) vitam produxero'. IV. 11. 5 'quorum in manus cura nostra venerit'. Ovid, P. IV. 16. 39 'essent et iuvenes, quorum quod inedita cura est' (poems). Tac. Dial. 3 'maturare libri huius editionem festino, ut dimissa priore cura (the tragedy Cato) novae cogitationi incumbam'. 6 'novam et recentem curam' (an oration). (3) sometimes it means the theme, subject. A. A. II. 746 'puellae vos eritis chartae proxima cura meae'. Prop. II. 1. 26 'Caesare sub magno cura secunda fores'.

libelli, diminutive of 'liber' a papyrus roll, means with Ovid sometimes (1) as here, books of poetry, poems; so III. 1. 71; 14. 25. IV. 1. 1, 35. V. 1. 65; 9. 3; 14. 1. (2) the several books of a completed work, in the singular I. 11. 1 'littera quaecumque est toto tibi lecta libello' (Book I of the Tristia). So III. 14. 51 (Book III of the Tristia).

V. 1. 1; 7. 59 (Book V of the Tristia): in the plural V. 12. 61. So of the three books of the Ars Amatoria inf. 245. III. 7. 27: of the six books of the Fasti inf. 549, of Books I–II of the Ars Amatoria A. A. III. 47: rarely (3) a whole work I. 7. 33 'in prima fronte libelli' (at the beginning of the roll containing the Metamorphoses), inf. 545 (the roll containing the Ars Amatoria).

2. **ipse**, redundant, joined with a possessive pronoun is a favourite mannerism of Ovid. Palmer, H. 1. 86; 5. 4.

meo: emphatic, inf. 12. P. III. 5. 4 'laesus ab ingenio Naso poeta suo'. Am. III. 3. 38 'officio est illi poena reperta suo'. He means that the Ars Amatoria caused his ruin: I. 1. 56 'ingenio sic fuga parta meo'. III. 3. 73 'tenerorum lusor amorum ingenio perii Naso poeta meo'.

3. **damnatas . . . Musas**: my poetry which has been condemned by my sovereign.

crimina, 'reproaches', charges against a person: I. 7. 21 'vel quod eram Musas, ut crimina nostra, perosus'. III. 10. 42 'non foret angustae mors tua crimen aquae'. Prop. I. 11. 30 'a, pereant Baiae, crimen Amoris, aquae!'

4. **an** introduces a question containing an alternative opposed to the thought of the previous line. Schmalz, Latein. Gramm. p. 325.

5. **carmina** denotes especially elegiac couplets, as inf. 339, 349, 541. III. 1. 11 'clauda quod alterno subsidunt carmina versu'. F. II. 567 'nec tamen haec ultra, quam tot de mense supersint Luciferi, quot habent carmina nostra pedes'. Catull. 65. 16 'expressa carmina Battiadae'. Thus 'carmen' denotes an epitaph (a) consisting of an elegiac couplet, H. 2. 146 'aut hoc aut simili carmine notus eris: "Phyllida Demophoon leto dedit hospes amantem: ille necis causam praebuit, ipsa manum"'. So H. 7. 194. Prop. IV. 7. 83. But where Ovid writes his own epitaph in four lines he describes it as 'versus' T. III. 3. 71. (b) consisting of two hexameter lines, M. II. 326 (Phaethon). XIV. 442 (Caieta). Verg. Ec. 5. 42 'tumulo superaddite carmen' (Daphnis).

vellet: singular because the two substantives composing the subject constitute one idea; inf. 502. IV. 3. 23 'dum te lectusque locusque tangit'. Ibis 116 'gaudeat adversis femina virque tuis'. Roby, 1438.

6. **omine non fausto**, with evil prospects for me; conversely 'bono omine' with good prospects Plin. Ep. IV. 15. 4. Lucan III. 211 'Iliacae quoque signa manus perituraque castra ominibus petiere suis' (with the prospect of their usual ill fortune). Great popularity, such as Ovid's, was liable to provoke the jealousy of the gods and bring disaster. Conington on Verg. Ec. 7. 27.

femina virque: the whole public of both sexes. See inf. 501 n.

7. **notaret**: stigmatize with reprobation; used strictly of a censor affixing the mark of infamy to the name of a citizen whom he degraded, inf. 541 n. Cic. de Or. II. 272; hence in the sense of disapproval generally. Cic. Flacc. 5 'cum adulescentiam notaris'. de Or. II. 349 'bonum virum laudari . . . improbum notari ac vituperari'. Hor. Sat. I. 3. 24 'stultus et improbus hic amor est dignusque notari'. Ep. I. 17. 14 'si sciret regibus uti, fastidiret holus qui me notat'. Tibull. III. 19. 24 'haec notat iniustos supplicibusque favet'. Avian. fab. 1. 15 'seque hac sciat arte notari'.

8. **demi iussa**, 'ordered to be removed from circulation'. At the time of his banishment Ovid's Ars Amatoria was removed from the public libraries (on which see 420 n.), as appears from III. 1. 59–74;

14. 17. P. I. 1. 5 foll.; and apparently from private libraries, such as that of his friend Brutus, P. I. 1. 12. The meaning of **demi** is illustrated by the epigram which stands at the beginning of the Amores, line 4 'at levior demptis poena duobus erit', i. e. the reader's trouble will be less, since, out of the five books of which the work originally consisted, two have been suppressed. Hor. Ep. I. 2. 37 'cur quae laedunt oculum festinas demere?'

The reading I have accepted from ΘL, the two oldest manuscripts, is superior not only in authority but in sense to that of the rest. Firstly, **demum uisa** Γ, accepted by Heinsius ('my Ars which Augustus has at length after a long period examined'), implies that Augustus never read the Ars Amatoria till the time of Ovid's banishment, which, considering Augustus' love for literature, is for that reason alone incredible. Also though **demum** stands after 'nunc', 'tunc', 'tum', it never follows 'iam'; therefore Binsfeld, Observ. Ov. Crit. 1860, p. 7 conjectured **tum demum visa**. In Quintil. Inst. Or. VIII. 2. 21 'pervasitque iam multos ista persuasio, ut id iam demum eleganter atque exquisite dictum putent', the 'iam' before 'demum' slipped in from the preceding 'iam', and should be omitted, as Spalding suggested. It is an instance of a word wrongly repeated; see Hall, Companion to Classical Texts, p. 192. Secondly, **pridem visa**, found in many MSS., accepted by Loers ('which Augustus read long since'), though not open to the same objections, has poor manuscript support. Thirdly, **pridem invisa**, found in some MSS., accepted by Merkel ('which long since provoked Augustus' displeasure'), is unsatisfactory, since Ovid would hardly have begun his apologetic treatise by admitting that his Ars had been long regarded with disapproval.

ab: i. q. propter, 'in consequence of'. Thus **ab** is often joined with ablative of origin, H. 2. 86 'quisquis ab eventu facta notanda putat'. Am. III. 2. 33 'his ego non visis arsi; quid fiet ab ipsis?' A. A. I. 750 'haec (voluptas) quoque ab alterius grata dolore venit'. M. III. 571 'fervens et ab obice saevior ibat'. P. I. 2. 52 'peior ab admonitu fit status iste boni'. IV. 1. 9 'o, quotiens ego sum libris mihi visus ab istis inpius!' Prop. I. 16. 14 'supplicis a longis tristior excubiis'. IV. 2. 48 'nomen ab eventu patria lingua dedit'. 10. 18 'qui tulit a parco frigida castra lare'. This use is frequent in Livy, as III. 61. 13 'Sabini feroces ab re bene gesta'. X. 5. 2 'concitatior accidens clamor ab increscente certamine'.

9. **deme mihi studium**, 'divest me of poetry', 'supprimez mon œuvre littéraire' (Cartault, Mélanges Chatelain, p. 47), 'fingat aliquis me non dedisse operam scribendis carminibus' (Verpoorten). The wording resembles I. 2. 52 'demite naufragium, mors mihi munus erit'. Prop. II. 1. 65 'hoc siquis vitium poterit mihi demere'.

The tautology **demi, deme, demes** is characteristic of Ovid, who affects repetitions of the same word, as I. 3. 58 'oscula summa dedi. saepe eadem mandata dedi'. Instances are collected by Sedlmayer, Wiener Studien, II. 295, in illustration of H. 1. 40, 42 'utque sit hic somno proditus, ille dolo . . . Thracia nocturno tangere castra dolo'. Haupt on M. II. 613. Seneca probably had this redundancy among others in view when he wrote, Contr. II. 2. 12, 'in carminibus [Naso] non ignoravit vitia sua sed amavit'. The play on the meaning of 'demo' is also characteristic. Similar plays on words are IV. 3. 14 'deque fide certa sit tibi certa fides'. V. 10. 13 'quem tenet Euxini mendax cognomine litus, et Scythici vere terra sinistra freti'. 13. 1 'hanc tuus e Getico mittit tibi Naso salutem, mittere si quisquam, quo caret ipse,

potest'. Am. II. 2. 15 'huic furtiva tuo libertas munere detur, quam dederis illi, reddat ut illa tibi'. P. II. 5. 63 'tu quoque Pieridum studio, studiose, teneris, ingenioque faves, ingeniose, meo'.

studium: the pursuit of poetry, 'poetry', as often in Ovid, I. 1. 55 'carmina nunc si non studiumque, quod obfuit, odi'. V. 1. 34; 7. 64; 12. 1. 9.

9. **vitium . . . carmine.** Here the manuscripts offer two readings:

(1) **uitam . . . carmine** ΘL, 'If you take from me poetry, by poetry you will also take from me my life', i. e. I shall have nothing for which to live.

(2) **uitae . . . crimina**, the reading of most MSS., and editors generally, 'If you divest me of poetry, you will also divest me of the charges against my life' (**vitae . . . crimina** 564 n.), i. e. suppose me never to have written poetry, then my life is freed from the charges against it.

Both readings are unsatisfactory because of the unsuitable meaning produced. For if the first be adopted (**vitam . . . carmine**), then Ovid says that poetry is all he has to live for, while with the second (**vitae . . . crimina**) he says that the charges against his life would disappear if it could be supposed that he had never written poetry. But both statements are irrelevant, since in this passage he is considering not what is his incentive in life, nor the charges against his life generally, but only the charge of immorality brought against his poetry.

Therefore retaining **carmine** from ΘL I adopt **vitium** (for **uitam** ΘL), the conjecture of Baehrens, supported by Ehwald, Symb. II. 10. 'If you rid me of poetry, by poetry (**carmine** i. q. dempto carmine) you will also rid me of my offence.'

vitium signifies Ovid's 'offence' consisting in the composition of the Ars Amatoria, which was the original cause and chief source of the resentment of Augustus: it is expressed by the same word V. 11. 16 'qui merui vitio perdere cuncta meo'. P. II. 2. 119 'victa tamen vitio est huius clementia nostro'. 7. 49 'vita prior vitio caret et sine labe peracta est'.

The assonance involved in the similar termination '-um' in two successive feet in this position in the line occurs elsewhere in Ovid: H. 1. 41 'ausus es o nimium nimium'. T. I. 2. 41 'o, bene quod non sum mecum'. ibid. 67 'inspice dic titulum non sum'. III. 13. 7 'quoque loco primum tibi sum'. V. 2. 21 'detrahat ut multum multum'. 11. 19 'utque aliis quorum numerum'. F. I. 669 'pagus agat festum pagum'.

carmine, 'through poetry', which has been taken away. The instrumental ablative expresses not only that which brings something to pass, but in poets sometimes that through the absence of which something is brought to pass. Verg. Ec. 2. 26 'cum placidum ventis staret mare' (by the winds ceasing to blow). G. IV. 484 'Ixionii vento rota constitit orbis' (through the wind falling). Prop. II. 34. 52 'cur fraternis Luna laboret equis' (the moon is eclipsed by the absence of the sun's rays).

The sense would be clearer, if we could read, as has occurred to me, **vitium cum carmine**: cp. Am. III. 14. 27 'indue cum tunicis metuentem crimina vultum'. A. A. III. 77 'anguibus exuitur tenui cum pelle vetustas'. But the threefold collocation of -um, 'studium vitium cum', has no exact parallel, though Ovid is not averse to collocations of the -um sound: inf. 87 'ergo hominum quaesitum odium'. V. 6. 35 'elige nostrorum minimum minimumque malorum'. H. 3. 123 'an tantum dum'. H. 1. 5 'utinam tum cum' (so A. A. I. 359, 363. R. 71, 125). Am. I. 6. 15 'te nimium lentum'. A. A. II. 45 'remigium

volucrum': 469 'mox caelum inpositum'. T. IV. 5. 9 'temporis oblitum dum'. P. I. 2. 33 'ille ego sum lignum'. T. IV. 4. 29 'ingeniumque meum'. V. 9. 17 'naufragiumque meum'. P. IV. 11. 13 'finitumque tuum'. Am. I. 3. 3 'a, nimium volui tantum'. T. III. 1. 53 'me miserum vereorque locum', and many of this last type.

As regards the two readings **carmine** and **crimina** these words are often interchanged in manuscripts: thus II. 3 for 'crimina' Θ has 'carmina': 61 for 'crimina' L has 'carmina': similarly at I. 1. 23; 7. 21. II. 508 'carmina' stands for 'crimina' in several MSS.

10. **acceptum refero**, 'I set it down to the credit of', 'I attribute to', is the regular expression of bookkeeping for entering on the receipt side, opposed to 'expensum fero' of sums paid in. Cic. Phil. II. 40. Hor. Ep. II. 1. 234.

esse nocens: i. q. me esse nocentem. The attraction by which after verbs sentiendi et declarandi the predicate is assimilated to the case of the subject, the nominative, in place of the usual accusative with infinitive construction is poetical, and an imitation of the Greek idiom. Here **acceptum refero** being equivalent to 'I state that it is due to' is virtually a verb of declaring. The earliest example is Plaut. Asin. 634 'quas hodie adulescens Diabolus ipsi daturus dixit'. It is next found in Catull. 4. 1 'phaselus ille . . . ait fuisse navium celerrimus'. So Verg. Aen. IV. 305 'dissimulare . . sperasti . . tantum posse nefas tacitusque mea decedere terra'. Hor. Carm. III. 27. 73 'uxor invicti Iovis esse nescis'. Ep. I. 7. 22 'vir bonus et sapiens dignis ait esse paratus'. Ov. Am. II. 19. 13 'a, quotiens finxit culpam, quantumque licebat insonti, speciem praebuit esse nocens' ('and, as far as she could when innocent, presented the appearance of being guilty': 'praebuit speciem' is virtually equivalent to 'significavit'). II. 4. 14 'spemque dat in molli mobilis esse toro'. M. XIII. 141 'quia rettulit Aiax esse Iovis pronepos'. T. IV. 3. 51 'turpe putas mihi nupta videri'. Schmalz, Latein. Gramm. p. 293. Kühner, II. 1. 702.

nocens: participle as substantive, 358 n.

11. **curae**, found in Θ and a few MSS., was no doubt the obliterated reading of L, for which **uitae** was substituted by the third corrector. The vulgate reading **uitae**, interpolated probably from line 9, makes poor sense: for Ovid's contention is that his ruin is due to his poetry, not to his life.

curae: 'thought' spent on his poetry. See on line 1.

vigilatorum which have cost me my sleep. F. IV. 109 'carmen vigilatum'. Verg. G. I. 313 'quae vigilanda viris'. Iuv. 7. 27 'vigilata proelia'. Cp. I. 1. 108 'quos studium cunctos evigilavit idem'. On the intransitive verb used transitively see Roby, L. Gr. 1123.

12. Here in ΘL and most MSS. **est** stands after **ingenio**, in a few after **meo** at the end of the line, while in AGHV it is omitted altogether. With regard to such cases Hilberg, Die Gesetze der Wortstellung im Pentameter des Ovid, pp. 246 foll., 422 foll., lays down two laws:

(1) that as Ovid tends to place words in their natural order, where verbal forms occur consisting of a participle and a part of 'esse', the part of 'esse' does not, if possible, precede the participle:

(2) that 'est' at the end of a pentameter is permissible only in two cases, firstly to avoid hiatus or to lengthen a short syllable (e. g. pede est), and secondly on those rare occasions where the omission of 'est' might involve a misunderstanding. As **ingenio est** is precluded by the first, **meo est** by the second of these laws, he contends that here **est** should with AGHV be removed altogether. But these so called laws are

inferences from a preponderating number of instances, no doubt representing Ovid's general tendency: but they depend ultimately on the authority of the MSS., which frequently present no certain agreement in the matter. Since, as here, the oldest and best MSS. often conflict with such laws, those laws cannot be said to be established. Moreover, the fact that Hilberg himself, for various reasons, allows exceptions renders his reasoning unconvincing. Such exceptions are III. 10. 10 'terraque marmoreo est candida facta gelu'. F. II. 178 'invito est pectore passa Iovem'. In many passages where Hilberg removes 'est' he does so in defiance of the best MS. tradition: e. g. Am. I. 7. 20 'pavido est lingua retenta metu'. III. 4. 2 'ingenio est quaeque tuenda suo'. H. 8. 8 'haec tibi sub domino est, Pyrrhe, puella suo'. 12. 74 'inque tua est vitaque morsque manu'. T. II. 430 'in quibus ipse suum fassus adulterium est'. F. V. 450 'ex ipso est cognita causa deo'. VI. 618 'et sic e templo est ipsa locuta suo'. Here 'est' should not be removed. Its removal in the face of its high MS. support is an example of the arbitrariness of Hilberg's method.

13. **sorores**: the Muses, called 'novem sorores' V. 12. 45. Verg. Ec. 6. 65 'una sororum'. Prop. II. 30. 27 'illic aspicies scopulis haerere sorores'. III. 1. 17 'opus hoc de monte sororum detulit intacta pagina nostra via'. The epithet **doctas** 'poetical' denotes possessing poetic taste and culture. As an epithet of the Muses it is found in Catull. 65. 2 'doctis virginibus'. Verg. catalept. 9. 2 'doctae Pegasides'. Lygd.-Tibull. III. 4. 45 'doctae sorores'. Ov. A. A. III. 411 'doctis Musis'. F. VI. 811 'doctae sorores'. M. V. 255 'doctas sorores'. It is applied by Ovid to the Muses and Apollo, called 'docta turba' T. III. 2. 4, to poets A. A. III. 551, called 'docti viri' inf. 419, III. 14. 1, to poetry III. 7. 12, to the poet's spirit III. 1. 63, to books of poetry III. 1. 71, to lovers of poetry inf. 119, V. 9. 9, to the poets Catullus, Am. III. 9. 62, Brutus, P. I. 1. 24, Salanus, P. II. 5. 15, the poetess Perilla, T. III. 7. 31. Hor. Carm. I. 1. 29 'me doctarum hederae praemia frontium dis miscent superis'. Ellis on Catull. 35. 17. Baehrens, Catull. Comment. p. 12.

14. **cultori**: viz. himself. III. 14. 6 'Artibus, artifici quae nocuere suo'. IV. 1. 29. V. 1. 67.

15. **insania**: I. 11. 11 'seu stupor huic studio sive est insania nomen'.

morbo: Cic. II. Verr. IV. 1 'istius quemadmodum ipse appellat studium, ut amici eius morbum et insaniam'. Iuv. 7. 52 'scribendi cacoethes'.

16. **malum**: unlucky. Catull. 14. 21 'abite illuc unde malum pedem attulistis'. Apul. Met. VI. 26 'quid quod et pessumo pede domum nostram accessit?' Ibis 99 'ominibusque malis pedibusque occurrite laevis'. Cp. inf. 109. Conversely F. I. 514 'ripaque felici tacta sit ista pede'.

refero rursus . . . pedem. The pleonastic insertion of **rursus** is found elsewhere: M. VII. 789 'revocataque rursus . . . rettuleram'. XII. 557 'rursusque reponere'. Verg. Aen. VI. 449 'rursus revoluta'. IX. 391 'rursus revolvens'. So Lucr. I. 785 'retro reverti'. Verg. Aen. IX. 794 'retro redit'. The phrase 'referre pedem' without an epithet is common in the sense of either (1) 'to return' III. 1. 26 'longinquo referam lassus ab orbe pedem'. H. 15. 186; 16. 88. M. II. 439. F. II. 768: or (2) 'to retreat' P. II. 6. 21 'turpe referre pedem'. A. A. I. 716. M. XV. 586. F. II. 342.

saxa . . . ista: these stones, viz. poetry, which has already caused him injury. The expression is proverbial, Koch, Frag. adesp. 391 δὶς πρὸς

τὸν αὐτὸν αἰσχρὸν εἰσκρούειν λίθον. Cic. Fam. X. 20. 2 'culpa enim illa "bis ad eundem" vulgari reprehensa proverbio est'. Auson. Ep. 11 (p. 231, Peiper) 'tu ut tua culpa ad eundem lapidem bis offenderes'. Cp. P. IV. 14. 21 'ad veteres scopulos iterum devertar et illas, in quibus offendit naufraga puppis, aquas'. Plaut. Most. 677.

ista (L has the meaningless **dita**), the reading of Parisinus 7993, was conjectured independently by Heinsius. Most MSS. and editors have **icta**, which is unsatisfactory because it is not indicated by what the stones have been struck: if 'by me' is intended, 'a me' should have been expressed; if 'by my foot' (so Tank, De Tristibus Ov. recensendis, p. 32 'saxa illa, quae pede icta pedem vulneraverunt'), then 'meo pede' is required. For 'ictus' is not used without an explanatory instrumental ablative unless that ablative is readily suggested by the context. Thus V. 4. 34 'nec vellent ictae limen adire domus', where 'Iovis igne' is understood (I. 3. 11 'Iovis ignibus ictus'), because Ovid constantly speaks of his ruin as due to the lightning stroke of Augustus the Roman Jupiter: cp. I. 1. 72. So Consol. ad Liviam 404 'immeriti Caesaris icta domus' is explained by line 402 'flammifera petiit cum (Iuppiter) tria templa manu'. Cic. harusp. resp. 45 'me primum ictum pro vobis et fumantem'. So M. II. 605 'indevitato traiecit pectora telo. icta dedit gemitum', where 'telo' is understood from the preceding line. M. V. 422 'valido sceptrum regale lacerto condidit; icta viam Tellus in Tartara fecit', where similarly 'sceptro' is understood. Goldbacher explains **saxa . . . icta** as 'the Parnassus of my poetry (cp. Enn. Ann. 215 'Musarum scopulos,'), which has been struck by the lightning of Augustus'; which seems far-fetched.

17. **scilicet** introduces an illustration, as inf. 521. So I. 5. 25, IV. 6. 23, H. 4. 21; 6. 97. Sometimes it introduces a conclusion, as inf. 107, I. 2. 33, V. 2. 11.

19. **Teuthrantia regna tenenti.** Telephus was the son of Hercules and Auge. Teuthras, king of Mysia, married Auge, and adopted Telephus as his son, who succeeded him as king of Mysia. When the Greeks on their way to Troy landed in his kingdom, Telephus attacked them and drove them to their ships, but was wounded in the leg by the spear of Achilles. He learned from the Delphian oracle that the wound could be healed only by him who had inflicted it. Achilles healed it by applying the rust of his spear. Telephus was the hero of several tragedies (Hor. A. P. 96, Iuv. 1. 5); plays bearing his name were written by Aeschylus, Sophocles (subject unknown, Pearson, Soph. Fragments II. 220), Agathon, Cleophon, Moschion, Iophon, and by the Roman poets Ennius and Accius. But the most celebrated of these was the Telephus of Euripides, Nauck, T. G. F., p. 579, the plot of which has been reconstructed from the fragments of Euripides, Ennius, Accius, and the parodies of Aristophanes in the Acharnians and Thesmophoriazusae by Starkie, Aristoph. Acharn. pp. 248 foll. The legend was also treated by Sophocles in the *Ἀχαιῶν σύλλογος*, Pearson, Soph. Fragm. I. 95. Ovid applies the legend to his own case also: I. 1. 99. V. 2. 15. P. II. 2. 26.

regna tenenti: Ibis 343 'Rhodopeia regna tenenti'.

20. **feret.** Ovid and other poets often construct **forsitan** (forsan) with indicative, assimilating it to 'fortasse'. Thus in the exile poems we find pres. indic. III. 3. 25 'agis'. V. 10. 40 'obiciunt'. P. IV. 13. 13 'potest'. fut. indic. I. 1. 35 'culpabere'. III. 1. 76 'erit'. III. 8. 20 'erit'. IV. 4. 47 'finiet'. Ibis 27 'faciet'. P. I. 1. 78 'habebor'. perf. indic. V. 10. 50 'merui'. P. III. 3. 34 'comminuere'. III. 4.

12 'fuit'. pluperf. indic. V. 5. 3 'egerat'. Examples from other works of Ovid are collected by Kunz, Ov. Med. fac. p. 55.

L has **ferat** which Bentley preferred, since **forsitan** with subj. is frequent, as H. 4. 53; but in that case **leniet** the reading of L and most MSS. in the next line must be altered, as Bentley wished, with a few unimportant MSS., to **leniat**.

21. **movit . . . motam**: a participle of the preceding or a kindred verb instead of a demonstrative pronoun (here 'eam') is common in Ovid, when it is desired to emphasize the rapidity of the succession of actions. III. 5. 11 'vidi ego confusos vultus visosque notavi'. 9. 27 'divellit divulsaque membra . . . dissipat'. 10. 13 'nix iacet, et iactam ne sol pluviaeque resolvant'. V. 2. 18 'vulnera qui fecit, facta levare velit'. Cp. M. I. 33, 402.

22. **magnos . . . deos**: the great gods, a reverential expression, H. 12. 34. M. V. 320: IX. 555; it is used of Augustus himself, T. V. 9. 12. P. I. 5. 70.

24. **Opi**: an Italian female deity, the embodiment of the fruitfulness of the gathered harvest. Ops was regarded as the wife of Saturnus, and identified with the Greek Rea or Cybele, the Mater magna (Liv. XXIX. 37. 2), as her consort Saturnus was with Kronos: Auson. Techn. 8. 2, p. 161 Peiper, 'Fas, quae Themis est Grais; post hanc Rea, quae Latiis Ops'. F. VI. 285 'ex Ope Iunonem memorant Cereremque creatas semine Saturni, tertia Vesta fuit'. Thus Ovid represents her as wearing Cybele's turret-crown, as Tibullus (I. 4. 68) had identified her with the goddess of Ida. The sacred meteoric stone, the emblem of the goddess, was brought from Pessinus to Rome in 205 B.C., Liv. XXIX. 10. 5, and deposited in the temple of Victoria on the Palatine, id. 14. 13. Later, 191 B.C., it was placed in the newly erected temple of the Mater magna Idaea on the Palatine, Liv. XXXVI. 36. 3. That temple was destroyed by fire A.D. 3, Val. Max. I. 8. 11. To replace it Augustus built a new temple on the Palatine, Mon. Ancyr. 19. 8, Gardthausen, Augustus u. s. Zeit, I. 2. 881. As the worship of the Mater magna was conducted exclusively by foreign Phrygian priests and a priestess (Marquardt, Staatsverw. III. 368, Iuv. 6. 512) with orgiastic music of drums and trumpets and hymns in the Greek language (Serv. Georg. II. 394 'hymni vero matris deum ubique propriam, id est Graecam, linguam requirunt', Ellis, Comm. Catull. p. 258), the **carmina** sung by Italian women (**Ausonias**), here mentioned by Ovid, seem to have been something exceptional, and to have formed part of the solemn ceremonial of the consecration of his temple, by which Augustus, in conformity with his religious policy, sought to emphasize the connexion with his family of the goddess of Ida, as a representative of the Trojan home of his race, Wissowa, Religion u. Kultus d. Römer, 319. Her ancient friendship to it Virgil indicated by the intervention of Cybele to save the fleet of Aeneas, Aen. IX. 77 ff. The temple on the Palatine is referred to F. IV. 347 'Nasica accepit. templi non perstitit auctor: Augustus nunc est, ante Metellus erat'.

25. **Phoebo dici**. This refers to the Ludi Saeculares, a religious festival of ceremonial purification celebrated by Augustus to mark the inauguration of the new rule of peace under the Empire. This took place in 17 B.C., hence the pluperfect **iusserat**, as it was anterior to the ceremonies in honour of Ops. Sacrifices were offered to Jupiter, Juno, Apollo and Diana, after which a hymn in honour of Apollo and Diana was sung by a chorus of boys and girls on the Palatine and

Capitol. This hymn was the Carmen Saeculare of Horace, as is attested by the inscription recording the ceremonies, discovered in Rome in 1890, now in the Museo delle Terme, edited by Mommsen, Monumenti Antichi, 1891, p. 618 foll.: the words are 'carmen composuit Q. Horatius Flaccus'. Ludi Saeculares occurred intermittently at the beginning of a saeculum, by which was meant the longest possible duration of a man's life, which is defined by Horace as 110 years (Carm. Saec. 21), hence the words **quos aetas aspicit una semel.**

27. **his exemplis**: abl. of circumstance. The hymns ordered by Augustus to win the favour of Ops and Phoebus are precedents that he may be appeased by the poet's verse.

28. **ab**, 'from', i.e. 'by means of'. The ablative of the instrument is strengthened by the addition of 'ab' in poets and prose writers of poetical style. This use is frequent in Ovid, cp. inf. 388, 421, 462. IV. 5. 3. Am. II. 4. 30. A. A. III. 545. P. I. 1. 41 'scimus ab inperio fieri nil tale Dianae'. F. III. 321. V. 677. It is found in Tibullus I. 5. 4 'turben quem celer adsueta versat ab arte puer'; and is common in Propertius, more so in the later than the earlier books, a feature probably due to Ovid's influence (Rothstein on I. 16. 14). The use is interesting as evidence of the progressive tendency in Latin to supplant the functions of the cases by prepositional constructions, a practice which pointed the way to the analytical expression of modern languages. See Grandgent, Vulgar Latin, p. 45.

30. **non adeo**, 'not so completely': 'adeo' strengthens 'non' as it strengthens 'nihil' in M. V. 273 'vetitum est adeo sceleri nihil'.

31. **concedere**, pardon: the dative of the person pardoned, usually added in this sense, is omitted as in Hor. Sat. I. 3. 85 'quod nisi concedas, habeare insuavis'. Cic. Rep. IV. 4 'omnia concedunt in amore iuvenum praeter stuprum'.

33. **si mittat . . . erit**: the future indicative in the apodosis emphasizes the certainty of the result. In such cases the indicative tended to displace the subjunctive (Schmalz, Lat. Gr. p. 413) as in Hor. Carm. III. 3. 7 'si fractus illabatur orbis impavidum ferient ruinae'. The usage is common in Ovid, as inf. 333. Am. II. 3. 12 'si careas illa, quis tuus usus erit?' H. 4. 92 'si numquam cesses tendere, mollis erit'. 8. 48 'si melius numeres, a Iove quintus eris'. T. III. 8. 16 'det reditum, protinus ales eris'. V. 8. 31 'si numeres anno soles et nubila toto, invenies nitidum saepius isse diem'. P. I. 1. 80 'plus isto, duri, si precer, oris ero'. Ibid. 4. 9. II. 6. 4 'si non liceat scribere, mutus ero'. II. 9. 23 'numquid erit, quare solito dignemur honore numina, si demas velle iuvare deos?'

35. **nunc**, 'as things are now', marks the contrast with the preceding supposition: so M. I. 58 'vix nunc obsistitur illis'. Lucret. I. 110. Verg. Ec. 10. 44. Geor. II. 55. Aen. X. 630. Iuv. 5. 141.

detonuit, 'has thundered loudly'. This verb, used here only by Ovid, occurs in this sense in Florus Epit. I. 17. 5 'captis superioribus iugis in subiectos hostes detonuit': also II. 6. 10. III. 12. 18. IV. 2. 2; and with an object Stat. Silv. II. 7. 66. Sil. Ital. XVII. 201. Ovid affects verbs compounded with 'de' intensive, which occur often first in him: F. IV. 755 'degrandinat', M. XI. 331 'delamentor', M. XI. 375 'demugio', M. XIV. 58 'demurmuro', M. IV. 546. XIV. 580 'deplango'. The forms 'devenerata' H. 2. 18, 'demaduisse' T. V. 4. 40 lack support, though printed there by some editors.

36. **aquis**: i.e. nubibus, A.A. II. 352 'terraque caelestes arida sorbet aquas' (of rain).

38. **nil Iove maius**: Hor. Carm. I. 12. 17 'unde nil maius generatur ipso, nec viget quicquam simile aut secundum'. F. V. 126 'invicto nil Iove maius erat'.

39. **rector... paterque.** The title 'pater patriae' (inf. 181, IV. 4. 13. P. I. 1. 36. F. II. 127) was conferred on Augustus in 2 B.C. (Mon. Anc. 35. 25. Suet. Aug. 58). **rector** is not a title but a word of popular parlance, in which way it is used in an inscription on an altar to Augustus, C. I. L. XII. 4333, where after the recitation of his titles 'patri patriae pontifici maximo tribunicia potestate XXXIIII' the inscription continues 'pleps Narbonensium aram Narbone in foro posuit ad quam quotannis VIIII Kal. Octobr., qua die eum saeculi felicitas orbi terrarum rectorem edidit, tres equites Romani... hostias singulas immolavit'. Pliny, N.H. II. 18 calls Vespasian 'maximus omnis aevi rector'. Ovid says of Jupiter and Augustus in M. XV. 860 'pater est et rector uterque'.

40. **nomen... idem**: F. II. 131 'hoc tu per terras, quod in aethere Iuppiter alto, nomen habes: hominum tu pater, ille deum'.

42. **frena tenere**: F. I. 532 'hanc fas inperii frena tenere domum'.

43. **veniam**: Augustus was distinguished by clemency, dictated by policy. Hor. Carm. Saec. 51 'bellante prior, iacentem lenis in hostem'. Aen. VI. 853 'parcere subiectis et debellare superbos'. He spared the life of Lepidus 36 B.C., Suet. Aug. 16. Sen. Clem. I. 10. After his victory at Actium 31 B.C. he spared the children of Antony by Cleopatra and had them brought up, Suet. Aug. 17: he spared Rufus who was disaffected and treated him with liberality, Sen. Ben. III. 27: he frequently treated mercifully those who had rebelled, Suet. Aug. 21. Thus Suetonius Aug. 51 says 'clementiae civilitatisque eius multa et magna documenta sunt. ne enumerem quot et quos diversarum partium venia et incolumitate donatos principem etiam in civitate locum tenere passus sit, Iunium Novatum et Cassium Patavinum e plebe homines alterum pecunia, alterum levi exilio punire satis habuit.' Ovid often refers to his clemency inf. 147, V. 2. 35 'ille deus, bene quo Romana potentia nixa est, saepe suo victor lenis in hoste fuit'. P. I. 2. 121 'sed piger ad poenas princeps, ad praemia velox, quique dolet, quotiens cogitur esse ferox: qui vicit semper, victis ut parcere posset'. So T. IV. 4. 53. V. 4. 19; 8. 26. P. I. 2. 59. II. 2. 115–20. III. 6. 7. Augustus asserts in the Monumentum Ancyranum that he spared all citizens in the civil wars (Mon. Anc. 3. 14 'victorque omnibus superstitibus civibus peperci') and that the golden shield set up in his honour was accorded for this among other reasons (Mon. Anc. 34. 20 'virtutis clementiae iustitiae pietatis causa'). Seneca discussing his claim in this respect concludes, Clem. I. 11. 2 'clementiam non voco lassam crudelitatem'.

44. **erat**: Roby, 1570.

45. In A.D. 4 Cn. Cornelius Cinna formed a conspiracy to kill Augustus and make himself emperor. When the conspiracy was detected, Augustus not only pardoned him and restored him to favour but next year conferred on him the consulship, Dio LV. 14 and 22. Cinna, as Augustus reminded him, had already been forgiven although he was a political enemy, Sen. Clem. I. 9. He also honoured on account of his fidelity, and conferred the equestrian rank on a freedman, T. Vinius, who had concealed his patronus when proscribed, Suet. Aug. 27. Dio XLVII. 7. To this Ovid probably alludes, T. I. 5. 39. Dio says that

he acted with similar clemency towards others. He spared the senators Sosius and Scaurus who had fought against him. Dio LI. 2. 4. When a plot was formed against him A.D. 4, yielding to the merciful counsels of Livia he released all the accused prisoners, and even appointed their leader Cornelius consul. Dio LV. 14. 1 and 22. 1. Ovid's patron Messalla Corvinus (P. I. 7. 28) fought at Philippi against Augustus.

48. **templis**: dat. commodi, especially used with verbs signifying a thing done in honour of the gods: M. III. 506 'sectos fratri posuere capillos'. H. 15. 181 'inde chelyn Phoebo . . . ponam'. F. I. 320 'hostia caelitibus . . . cadit'. III. 730 'primitias magno seposuisse Iovi'.

50. **victum** placed at the beginning of the line emphasizes the contrast with **vicerit**, Hilberg, p. 229. Cp. inf. 294.

51. So I. 5. 41 'causa mea est melior, qui non contraria fovi arma, sed hanc merui simplicitate fugam'. V. 2. 33 'neque enim mea culpa cruenta est'.

causa: position, situation. The sense is of legal origin, the legal rights or position. Dig. VII. 1. 13. 4 'fructuarius causam proprietatis (the position of the owner) deteriorem facere non debet'. See Roby's note, De Usufructu, p. 105. Cic. II Verr. V. 116 'pertimuerat adulescens, quod eandem suam causam videbat esse quam illorum, qui innocentes peribant'. ibid. 111 'is tamen in eadem causa fuit'. Sest. 57 'qui cum esset in eadem causa'. Fin. I. 49 'qua qui affecti sunt, in eadem causa sunt'. Liv. XXXIX. 18. 5 'magna vis in utraque causa virorum mulierumque fuit'.

qui agrees with the antecedent implied in the possessive pronoun: so I. 5. 41 (quoted above). V. 11. 3 'indolui, non tam mea quod fortuna male audit, qui iam consuevi fortiter esse miser'. P. III. 4. 91 'nec mea verba legis, qui sum summotus ad Histrum'. The idiom is common in Cicero: Kühner, II. 1. 30.

contraria . . . arma refers not to conspiracies against Augustus, such as those of the younger Lepidus, Varro Muraena, and others mentioned by Suet. Aug. 19, but to support rendered to opponents of Augustus in the civil wars, as by Horace, who served as a military tribune under Brutus. As Ovid was born in 43 B.C., he was only in his fourteenth year when Augustus became emperor in 29 B.C.; he could not therefore of course have served personally in those wars. He means that his case is better than that of active opponents still alive, who had been pardoned. He speaks similarly III. 5. 45 'non mihi quaerenti pessumdare cuncta petitum Caesareum caput est, quod caput orbis erat'. V. 2. 33 'neque enim mea culpa cruenta est'. P. II. 2. 11 'nec nos Enceladi dementia castra secuti in rerum dominos movimus arma deos, nec, quod Tydidae temeraria dextera fecit, numina sunt telis ulla petita meis'.

52. **opes**: forces, military power. Am. I. 9. 34 'dum licet, Argivas frangite, Troes, opes'. F. VI. 568 'Didius hostiles ingeminavit opes'. Verg. Aen. X. 153 'Tarchon iungit opes'. F. I. 594, 644. Verg. Aen. VIII. 171 'auxilio laetos dimittam opibusque iuvabo', where Servius remarks 'opes antiqui vocabant milites'.

53. **tertia numina**: the deities of the underworld, the third division of the universe which, after the victory of Zeus over Kronos and the Titans, was distributed by lot between Zeus, who obtained the sovereignty of heaven, with a general control of earth (**terras**) (though Homer describes it as common to all ξυνὴ πάντων Il. XV. 193, so Stat. Theb. VIII. 312 'indivisa magnis fratribus'), Poseidon, to whom fell

the sea (**mare**), cp. M. II. 291, and Pluto, who with Persephone ruled the underworld (**tertia regna**). Iliad XV. 187, where Poseidon says *τρεῖς γάρ τ' ἐκ Κρόνου εἰμὲν ἀδελφεοί, οὓς τέκετο Ῥέα, Ζεὺς καὶ ἐγώ, τρίτατος δ' Ἀΐδης, ἐνέροισιν ἀνάσσων. τριχθὰ δὲ πάντα δέδασται, ἕκαστος δ' ἔμμορε τιμῆς.* F. IV. 599 'non ego (Iuppiter) nobilior. posita est mihi regia caelo, possidet alter aquas, alter inane chaos'. So in M. V. 368 Pluto is described as the god 'cui triplicis cessit fortuna novissima regni'. F. IV. 584 (Persephone) 'nupta Iovis fratri tertia regna tenet'. Tibullus-Lygdamus III. 5. 21 'parcite, pallentes undas quicumque tenetis duraque sortiti tertia regna dei'.

Ciofanus, followed by Loers, explained **tertia numina** as the deities of heaven, quoting Am. III. 8. 49 'quid tibi cum pelago? terra contenta fuisses! cur non et caelum, tertia regna, petis? qua licet, adfectas caelum quoque: templa Quirinus, Liber et Alcides et modo Caesar habent'. But there Ovid, apostrophizing the ingenuity of human nature, says that man should have been content with the land as his sphere. Why does he venture on the sea? He might as well aspire to heaven as a third dominion; that he has already done to some extent through the apotheosis of Romulus, Bacchus, Hercules, and Caesar.

54. **praesentem conspicuumque**: a god dwelling among us and visible, distinguished from the heavenly gods who are remote and invisible. Hor. Carm. III. 5. 1 'caelo tonantem credidimus Iovem regnare: praesens divus habebitur Augustus'. Thus Augustus is described as the earthly vicegerent of Jupiter the god in heaven, Hor. Carm. I. 12. 49 'gentis humanae pater atque custos, orte Saturno: tibi cura magni Caesaris fatis data; tu secundo Caesare regnes. . . . te minor latum reget aequus orbem'.

56. **qua sola potui**: Ovid was constitutionally weak and unfit for warlike service. I. 5. 72 'invalidae vires ingenuaeque mihi'. IV. 10. 37 'nec patiens corpus, nec mens fuit apta labori'. P. I. 5. 51 'hoc quoque me studium prohibent adsumere vires, mensque magis gracili corpore nostra valet'.

57. **optavi, peteres . . . tarde**: the same wish is expressed V. 2. 50 'o vir non ipso, quem regis, orbe minor, sic habites terras et te desideret aether, sic ad pacta tibi sidera tardus eas'. M. XV. 868 'tarda sit illa dies et nostro serior aevo, qua caput Augustum, quem temperat, orbe relicto accedat caelo faveatque precantibus absens!' Hor. Carm. I. 2. 45 'serus in caelum redeas diuque laetus intersis populo Quirini'. Bücheler, Carmina Epigraphica, I. 18, p. 12 (inscription on the shrine to the Lares Augusti) 'nam quom te, Caesar, tempus exposcet deum caeloque repetes sedem, qua mundum reges, sint hi, tua qui sorte terrae huic imperent regantque nos felicibus votis suis'.

59. **pia tura**: the epithet 'reverential' which properly applies to the person is transferred to the thing. M. XI. 577 'superis pia tura ferebat'. Tibull. II. 2. 3 'urantur pia tura focis'. Hor. Carm. III. 23. 20 'farre pio'. Mart. VIII. 8. 3 'te primum pia tura rogent'. Iuv. 13. 116 'cur pia tura ponimus?'

unus is added for the sake of contrast. Verg. Aen. III. 321 'o felix una ante alias Priameia virgo'. Cic. de Or. I. 76 'quas si quis sit unus complexus omnis'. **Unus** is disparaging 'a mere individual', see Ellis on Catull. 22. 10; Wilkins on Cic. de Or. I. 132.

61. **quid referam**: i.e. I need not mention. So Am. I. 5. 23. H. 12. 129. Verg. G. II. 118.

libros, illos quoque: my books, even my Ars Amatoria, are full of your eulogies. P. I. 1. 27 'denique Caesareo, quod non desiderat ipse, non caret e nostris ullus honore liber'. The references to Augustus in the Ars Amatoria are I. 171–6 celebrating the naumachia which he exhibited in 2 B.C., and I. 177–228 prophesying a triumph and victory over the Parthians for the expedition sent by Augustus to the East in 1 B.C. under his grandson the young C. Caesar.

crimina: 508 n.

62. **tui** is placed after its substantive **nominis** for the sake of emphasis: had it not been emphatic, the positions of **locis** and **tui** would have been reversed. In Ovid the attribute, whether adjective or pronoun, precedes its substantive unless, as here, it is emphatic. Thus inf. 552 'et tibi sacratum sors mea rupit opus', 174 'auspicium cui das grande deosque tuos', 252 'quas stola contingi vittaque sumpta vetat', where the emphasis is on 'mea', 'tuos', 'sumpta' respectively. See Hilberg, pp. 273, 332 foll., where many examples are given.

63. **maius opus**: the Metamorphoses.

tenetur: the unique reading of L expresses better than **reliqui**, that of all the other MSS., the poet's meaning, which is that by his exile he is 'checked' from completing his Metamorphoses: **reliqui** would merely mean that he had left it incomplete. Cp. I. 7. 14 'infelix domini quod fuga rupit opus'. So 'tenere' means 'to check' in M. IX. 301 'tacita quoque carmina voce dixit, et inceptos tenuerunt carmina partus'. VIII. 463 'coepta quater tenuit'. H. 2. 14 'nec tenuit cursus forsitan ille tuos'. See on 556.

64. **in non credendos ... modos**, 'in incredible ways'. This somewhat unusual expression is equivalent to 'non credendis modis' or 'incredibilibus modis'. A gerundive is used with 'in modum' in the common phrase 'mirandum in modum' Cic. II Verr. II. 134. Planc. 19, &c. So 'miserandum in modum' Prov. Cons. 5. The plural **modos** here is due to the plurality of the sense, since the numerous transformations related in the Metamorphoses are incredible in numerous ways. Thus the ablative plural is used elsewhere for the same reason, either where more ways than one are intended as Plaut. Cist. 15 'hic acceptae sumus suavibus modis'. Epid. 667. Ter. Ad. 166, or where a plural substantive is directly in question as Lucret. I. 123 (copied by Verg. G. I. 477) 'simulacra modis pallentia miris'. Verg. Aen. VI. 737 'multa diu concreta modis inolescere miris'. VII. 89 'modis simulacra volitantia miris'. X. 822 'ora modis pallentia miris'. Loers and others interpret **modos** as standing for 'facies' 'shapes', which is impossible. That is expressed inf. 556 by 'in facies corpora versa novas'.

The personal use of the passive of 'credo' is poetical. Kühner, II. 1. 102. Cp. T. III. 10. 35. F. III. 351.

65. **vestri ... nominis**: i.e. Caesarei nominis, of the house of you the Caesars. The plural pronoun **vestri** is used because both Julius and Augustus are celebrated in the Metamorphoses: XV. 745–849 contains an account of the apotheosis of Julius Caesar, I. 204. XV. 850–70 praises of Augustus, to whom in the last passage divinity is promised. So P. I. 3. 85 'quo magis ignoscat sapientia vestra dolenti' (the philosophy of you and others). IV. 6. 7 'quale tamen potui, de caelite, Brute, recenti vestra procul positus carmen in ora dedi' (I have presented my poem to you, Brutus, and other friends). Well-known examples are Verg. Aen. I. 140 'vestras, Eure, domos' (the home of you and your brother winds). Aen. X. 188 'crimen, Amor, vestrum' (a reproach

to you, Love, and your mother Venus). In Ov. Am. III. 1. 40 'obruit exiguas regia vestra fores' it is possible that 'regia vestra' means the palaces with which you, Tragedy, and the despots, who form your theme, are associated. In Am. II. 16. 24 'nec timeam vestros, curva Malea, sinus' the word 'vestros' must be equivalent to 'tuos', as 'vestrae' is certainly equivalent to 'tuae' in Catull. 99. 6 'tantillum vestrae demere saevitiae', and as 'vester' is possibly equivalent to 'tuus' in Catull. 39. 20 'iste vester expolitior dens est'. See Postgate, Hermathena, XVIII. 91 foll. Housman, Classical Quarterly, III. 244.

66. **multa mei**: for this L has **cara tui**, which reading has given rise to the conjectures **certa mei** (Wilkins) and **rara mei** (Güthling). In favour of **certa** is the fact that 'cta' is the reading of a Leiden manuscript Lips. 51 (thirteenth century) examined by Overdruck, De codices Hugeniani (Zulichemiani) der 17de eeuwsche philologen (Handelingen van het Tweede Nederlandsche Philologen-Congres, gehouden te Leiden). Hence Overdruck, p. 69, argues that **certa** should be accepted, comparing P. IV. 13. 32 'qui dederint animi pignora certa sui'. III. 4. 27 'et regum vultus, certissima pignora mentis'. On the other hand **rara** 'conspicuous' 'matchless' might be supported by Am. II. 4. 17 'raras dotata per artes'. T. III. 7. 14 'et raras dotes ingeniumque dedit'. But it is probable that L here presents an instance of complicated corruption, **cara** being interpolated by reminiscence from I. 3. 60 'respiciens oculis pignora cara meis', while **tui** is due to 'tui' in line 62.

67. **quo**: that by means of which, abl. of means, not an adverb, as Némethy takes it.

69. For **Iovi**, the reading of Harleianus 2699 and of Merula, the rest of the MSS. and the early editions have **Iovis**. The dative of the indirect object however is required with **superest** in the sense of 'there is in abundance', as III. 9. 17 'superest ingens audacia menti'. Ter. Phorm. 69 'quoi tanta erat res et supererat?' Cic. Fam. XIII. 63. 2 'sed vereor ne iam superesse mihi verba putes, quae dixeram defutura'. Iuv. 13. 109 'cum magna malae superest audacia causae'. Tac. A. XIV. 54. 5 'superest tibi robur'. So without dative F. II. 735 'nox superest'. IV. 767 'herbae frondesque supersint'. VI. 379 'tu modo quae desunt fruges, superesse putentur, effice'.

71. **Gigantei ... belli**. Introd. IV. 63 foll.

73. **ore**, 'diction', as distinct from **ingenio**, 'talent'. Hor. Sat. I. 4. 43 'ingenium cui sit, cui mens divinior atque os magna sonaturum'. **os** is thus used of poetic diction Am. II. 1. 11 'ausus eram, memini, caelestia dicere bella . . . et satis oris erat'. A. A. I. 206 'magno nobis ore sonandus eris'. So of lofty epic style inf. 423 (of Ennius' Annales). Rem. 382 'Cydippe non est oris, Homere, tui'. P. IV. 10. 75 'quamquam est factis ingens et conditur a te vir tanto, quanto debuit ore cani' (of the Thebais of Albinovanus). IV. 16. 5. 'magni Rabirius oris' (of a Roman epic). Verg. Geor. III. 294 'magno nunc ore sonandum'. Also of tragic style Am. I. 15. 19 'animosi Accius oris'.

The other poets, **alii**, referred to here, as inf. 529, who wrote in praise of Augustus, are (1) Varius, who composed a panegyric on Augustus, from which, according to Porphyrio, two lines are extracted, Hor. Ep. I. 16. 27 'tene magis salvum populus velit an populum tu, servet in ambiguo qui consulit et tibi et urbi Iuppiter'. (2) Virgil, (3) Horace, (4) portions of the historical Elegies of Propertius. Schanz, Gesch. röm. Litt. II. 1. 6 and 198.

75. **taurorum sanguine centum** : a hecatomb. After the victory of Decius over the Samnites, Liv. VII. 37. 1, and of Scipio over the Carthaginians, Liv. XXVIII. 38. 8, a hundred oxen were sacrificed. Marius vowed an hecatomb to the gods if they would grant him victory over the Cimbri. Plut. Mar. 26. 3. Other instances in Mayor on Iuv. 12. 101.

76. **minimo** : insignificant. F. IV. 150 'hoc parvo ture rogata facit'. So Iuv. 13. 179 'sed corpore trunco invidiosa dabit minimus solacia sanguis' 'the consolation afforded by the insignificant bloodshed resulting from the decapitation of your defrauder will procure you detestation' : i. e. your revenge will be glutted by one insignificant death ; there will be no wholesale massacre, such as the 'immensa strages', Tac. A. VI. 19, which followed on the discovery of the plot of Sejanus, which, from its quantity, might console you. Here misunderstanding of Juvenal's meaning has led to unnecessary conjectures.

honore : offering. M. X. 681 'cui turis honorem ferret'. XIV. 130. The sentiment is the same as P. IV. 8. 39 'nec, quae de parva pauper dis libat acerra, tura minus, grandi quam data lance, valent'. Hor. Carm. III. 23. 16 'immunis aram si tetigit manus, non sumptuosa blandior hostia, mollivit aversos Penatis farre pio et saliente mica'. Panegyr. Messallae 14 'parvaque caelestis placavit mica, nec illis semper inaurato taurus cadit hostia cornu'.

77. For **crudelior omnibus**, the reading of LV, most MSS. including G have **nimium crudelior**, which is not possible since the correct Latin would be 'nimio crudelior'; cp. Hor. Carm. I. 18. 15 'plus nimio', I. 33. 1 'plus nimio memor'. Ep. I. 10. 30 'plus nimio'. Perhaps **nimium** arose from a gloss on **crudelior** written above it 'nimium crudelis', which was received into the text, involving the exclusion of **omnibus**. The reading of AHP **nimium crudeliter**, accepted by many editors, is possible Latin, cp. inf. 117 'nimium iuvenaliter', but was probably an attempt to make grammar of **nimium crudelior**.

78. **delicias**, 'erotic passages'; this word, which is etymologically connected with 'lacio' 'I allure', 'lacesso' 'I lure out', 'laqueus' 'a cord to snare' (Walde, Lat. etym. Wörterb. p. 226), is used by Ovid in an erotic connexion (1) of love-adventures, intrigues as defined by Cicero, Cael. 44 'amores et hae deliciae numquam hunc tenuerunt'. So inf. 368 ; Rem. 154 'deliciae iam tibi terga dabunt'. Also of voluptuous dalliance, voluptuous pleasures. A. A. III. 649 'nec male deliciis odiosum conscia tardis detinet'. H. 15. 138 ; 16. 192. Am. III. 14. 18. T. I. 2. 80 'delicias videam, Nile iocose, tuas'. F. V. 334, 367. Hence (2) of poems about love-adventures or the delights of love, love poems. So here and inf. 349 'delicias et mollia carmina'. Am. III. 15. 4. Also (3) more generally of 'luxury'. Med. fac. 10 'sectile deliciis India praebet ebur', or 'pets', M. XIII. 831, or 'fastidious fancies', P. I. 10. 16 'delicias ne mala nostra vocet', ibid. 18. 19. Iuv. 10. 291 'usque ad delicias votorum'.

qui . . . cumque : separated by tmesis, as often, Lucr. III. 550. V. 1128. Verg. Aen. I. 610. Hor. Carm. I. 6. 3.

79–80. **ne . . . quae**. I retain this, the reading of almost all manuscripts, which requires no alteration. For the separation by tmesis cp. 78 **qui . . . cumque**. Cic. Att. X. 12. 3 'eas epistulas concerpito, ne quando quid emanet'. Tmesis in Ovid M. XII. 497 'inque cruentatus'. XIII. 713 'praeter erant vecti'.

The forms 'quae, qua', nom. and acc. pl. of the indefinite pronoun 'quis', convey different shades of meaning : 'qua' is purely indefinite, 'any', while 'quae' is used where certain things are in the writer's

view, 'any such', 'such things as'. Thus 'si qua exempla sunt' means 'if there are any instances', 'si quae exempla sunt' 'such instances as there are'. Prop. I. 16. 45 'haec ille et si quae miseri novistis amantes' 'these things he relates and such experiences as you poor lovers understand'. Cic. Or. 219 'si quae veteres illi, Herodotum dico et Thucydidem, apte numeroseque dixerunt' 'such appropriate rhythmical sentences as we find in Herodotus and Thucydides'. Flacc. 9 'non adimo sermonis leporem, ingeniorum acumen, dicendi copiam, denique etiam, si quae sibi alia sumunt, non repugno' 'I do not deny the Greeks such other intellectual accomplishments as they claim'. Thus here **quae** is employed because Ovid has certain passages in his poems in view. See Kühner I. 616. Goldbacher, taking **ne** as the affirmative particle (nae), renders 'indeed what poems from my books which do you honour might be read!' But this colloquial particle is un-Ovidian.

nostris...libris : local abl., as inf. 437. IV. 1. 1 'siqua meis fuerint, ut erunt, vitiosa libellis'. Cic. Off. II. 31 'de amicitia alio libro dictum est'. Therefore the proposal of Vogel to read **ne e nostris** is unnecessary; and the fact that in a Bodleian and a Copenhagen MS., quoted in my larger edition, there is an erasure of one letter after **ne**, which he adduces in support of it, is not relevant because, as I stated in my apparatus criticus, the erased letter was 'c'.

iudicio (the reading of G and many MSS.) . . . **candidiore**, with a more unprejudiced, i.e. friendlier judgement: 467 n. Hor. Ep. I. 4. 1 'Albi, nostrorum sermonum candide iudex', 'a fair, unprejudiced judge'.

possint...legi : i. q. legantur. The periphrastic use of 'possum' followed by infinitive is a circumlocution common in Ovid: so inf. 204, 245, 266. I. 9. 3 'utinam pro te possent mea vota valere'. V. 2. 46 'si fas est homini cum Iove posse loqui'. H. 4. 168 'sic numquam, quae te spernere possit, ames'. 5. 86 'sunt mihi, quas possint sceptra decere, manus'. F. II. 106 'quae possit crines, Phoebe, decere tuas'. Prop. I. 9. 31 'illis et silices possunt et cedere quercus'. This circumlocution tended in the vulgar Latin to replace the future. Grandgent, Vulgar Latin, § 126. 3.

This couplet is subordinate to 77–8, and expresses the purpose of the enemy, who selected licentious passages of the Ars Amatoria to read to Augustus, that, his indignation having been excited, he might be prejudiced against the poet's work generally, and thus view with judgement already biased even the passages laudatory of himself in the Ars Amatoria (61–2) and Metamorphoses (63 foll.).

Some editors, as I did myself in my larger edition, adopt the reading of LHPV and some other MSS. **indicio**, i. e. indicio viri candidioris. This is possible, because though 'indicium' generally means information of an unfriendly kind, as III. 4. 71 'nec meus indicio latitantes versus amicos protrahit', it also signifies information without any bad connotation, as inf. 379 'indicio Homeri'. P. I. 5. 76 'indicium studii mei'. Then the purpose of the enemy would be to prevent Augustus from reading the laudatory passages pointed out to him by a friendlier informant. But no special 'indicium' would be needed for an unprejudiced reading by Augustus of Ovid's poems (Vogel, p. 28). Various conjectures have been proposed, of which I notice three: (1) **ne nostris te devenerantia libris**, Ellis, Hermathena XVI. 190. This is untenable not so much because 'the word deveneror is rare' (Ellis), as because in the only place in which it certainly occurs, Tibull.

I. 5. 14 'somnia ter sancta deveneranda mola' it means 'to avert something evil by prayer', which could not be the meaning here. In H. 2. 18 it is a highly doubtful reading.

(2) **carmina nam nostris quot te venerantia libris indicio possint candidiore legi!**

Ehwald, approved by Hilberg, p. 516: 'nam' is found in the Paris MS. 8255. Against this it must be urged that there is no necessity for this exclamatory sentence introduced by 'quot', for what it states had been stated already 61 foll. (3) **carmina non nostris quasi te venerantia**, &c. (reading 'iudicio'). Damsté, Mnemosyne XLVI (1918), p. 4, i.e. 'quasi candidiore iudicio (quam tibi est) in nostris libris carmina legi non possint quae te venerantur'. But 'non quasi' can hardly stand for 'quasi non': 'non quasi' means 'not as if' poems could be read, which is not the required sense.

81. Your anger at once made all the world my enemies.

82. **tunc**: 'at the time of my disgrace'.

83–8. The connexion of ideas is, as a house shaken by some shock soon topples over, and when an accidental crack appears all fabrics collapse, so your displeasure has occasioned my present deplorable plight, in which I am abandoned by my friends. He compares the downfall of his fortunes to the collapse of a house, a sight common in Rome, where houses were run up unsubstantially by speculators, and even those more solidly built were shaken down by earthquakes and inundations. Mayor on Iuv. 3. 8. He uses the same comparison I. 9. 17 'dum stetimus, turbae quantum satis esset, habebat nota quidem sed non ambitiosa domus. at simul inpulsa est, omnes timuere ruinam'. III. 5. 5 'ut cecidi, cunctique metu fugere ruinam, . . . ausus es . . . deploratae limen adire domus'. P. I. 9. 13 'cum domus ingenti subito mea lapsa ruina concidit in domini procubuitque caput'. III. 2. 11 'cumque dedit paries venturae signa ruinae, sollicito vacuus fit locus ille metu'.

83. **quassata**: Plin. Ep. VI. 20. 6 'quassatis circumiacentibus tectis'.

84. **recumbit**: sinks down in the direction of the subsiding parts.

86. **suoque eadem** Binsfeld's conjecture for **suo quodam**: see Classical Quarterly VIII. 22. que misplaced, as inf. 167. Heinsius, putting a full stop at **dehiscunt**, adopted the reading of some few MSS. **ipsa suo quondam pondere tecta ruunt** taking **quondam** as 'sometimes', as in Verg. Aen. II. 367. But this has indifferent manuscript support. Two recent conjectures seem to me improbable **inque suo cladem pondere tracta ruunt** (Vogel); **inpositoque etiam pondere tracta ruunt** (Damsté, Mnemosyne XLVI, p. 5).

eadem, 'likewise', also: M. I. 562 (Daphne) 'postibus Augustis eadem fidissima custos'. Verg. G. I. 71 'alternis idem tonsas cessare novalis . . . patiere'. Iuv. 3. 23 'atque eadem cras deteret exiguis aliquid'. Kühner, II. 1. 627. With **suo pondere** cp. Aetna 499 'atque ipso pondere tracta volvitur'.

Hilberg, p. 628, without reason objects to the correction **suoque eadem** because according to his rule he contends that the order of words should be 'eademque suo', for **ipsa suo** are placed in juxtaposition, by a favourite mannerism of Ovid (2 n.), for the sake of emphasis: Am. II. 6. 55 'explicat ipsa suas ales Iunonia pennas'. T. IV. 3. 66 'ipse suis Phaethon infitiandus erat'. V. 4. 45 'per caput ipse suum solitus iurare'. M. II. 381 'expers ipse sui decoris'. III. 229 'famulos fugit ipse suos'. 388 'verbis favet ipsa suis'. 440

'perque oculos perit ipse suos'. VI. 492 'ignes ipse suos nutrit'. IX. 155 'luctus ipsa suos tradit'. 472 'quietis ipsa suae speciem'. X. 111 'ipse suo capiti'. 171 'inmemor ipse sui'. 215 'ipse suos gemitus'. 277 'ipsa suis aderat festis'. XII. 301 'ipse suo sanguine'. The collocation is specially common at the end of the pentameter: IV. 4. 70 'exactus Furiis venerat ipse suis'. H. 1. 86 'vires temperat ipse suas'. So 9. 96; 12. 18. A. A. II. 114. Ibis 404. Cp. 'ipse tuas' inf. 368. Aetna 13 'ipse suo Bacchus flueret pede'. Plin. Ep. VIII. 8. 3 'ipsa sui copia inpellitur'. Goldbacher, after L, reads **cum quae ... ipsa suo quodam**, &c., regarding the second couplet (85–6) as the application of the fact stated in the first (83–4). 'As in a house, when being shaken it begins to subside, the whole weight leans towards the sunken portion, so, if fortune once sustains a crack, when men's affairs begin to break up, they collapse dragged down by a kind of weight.' Then the phrase 'rimam facere' (which occurs here only) is equivalent to 'rimam agere, ducere', M. II. 211. X. 512. IV. 65.

87. **quosque**: the reading of the Bodleian Canonici MS., conjectured independently by Ehwald, was probably the original reading of L, in which from **quaesitum** to **quaque** (sic) was added by the second hand. **quos debuit**: sc. sequi.

Most MSS. and editors read **quaque**, less well because 'qua' is usually restrictive, 'in such a way as' 'to the extent that'. A. A. I. 285 'Myrrha patrem, sed non qua filia debet, amavit'. M. IX. 456 'non soror ut fratrem, nec qua debebat, amabat'. 510 'nec, nisi qua fas est germanae, frater ametur'. P. I. 7. 45 'quaque ego permisi, quaque est res passa, pepercit'. II. 4. 34 'qua licet et quantum non onerosus ero'. M. II. 105 'ergo, qua licuit, genitor cunctatus'.

88. **vultus tuos**: i. e. vultum tuum iratum (Némethy).

89. **vitamque meam moresque probabas.** The 'equites equo publico', called also 'equites Romani' under Augustus, were a select class within the whole mass of equites; to each of them was granted by the emperor a horse at the public expense, as it had been granted by the State under the Republic. The list of equites under the Republic was revised annually by the censors ('equites recensere' Liv. XXXVIII. 28. 2. XLIII. 16. 1), who deprived an unworthy eques of his horse. Augustus acting as censor carried out this revision personally, inf. 542 n.; Suet. Aug. 38. Those rejected in the scrutiny were said to be 'improbati'. Suet. Aug. 39 'unumquemque equitum rationem vitae reddere coegit atque ex improbatis alios poena, alios ignominia notavit, plures admonitione, sed varia'. Thus **probabas**, i. q. non improbabas 'you did not reject me in the scrutiny'. The revision was combined with the 'equitum transvectio', a review of the equites held periodically under the Republic by the censors. Under Augustus in this ceremony the equites rode in procession before the sovereign dressed in their trabea. Tac. A. II. 83. 5. Mommsen, Staatsr. III. 505 foll. Willems, Droit public romain 385.

90. **illo**: the position of this word is due both to emphasis and the desire to avoid a rhyme. Hilberg, p. 711.

praetereuntis: for the possessive genitive depending on the possessive pronoun cp. Am. I. 8. 108 'ut mea defunctae molliter ossa cubent'. H. 5. 45 'nostros vidisti flentis ocellos'. Hor. Sat. I. 4. 23 'mea scripta timentis'. This use is found chiefly in verse, occasionally in prose, as Cic. Fam. XV. 13. 1 'me tuum studium adulescentis perspexisse'. Kühner, II. 1. 245.

91–2. Since Heinsius, this couplet has been generally rejected as

spurious. Ehwald, Symb. II. 19, regards it as an interpolation expressing the interpolator's view of the muster held by Augustus. This he thinks is indicated by the form in which it appears in L:

non quasi prodesset honesti gloria nulla
redditus est (redditur et L^3) nullum crimen adeptus erit (eram L^3)

i. e. 'not that it did him (Ovid) any good, no praise for uprightness is accorded (redditur) to him, and (et, most MSS. have 'at' i. e. 'though') he will be found to have not incurred any reproach'. Ehwald thinks that, after the alteration of 'erit' into 'eram', the couplet was received into the text. He therefore excises it. But, as Vogel, p. 28, points out, the couplet is necessary, since the poet's purpose is to bring into prominence the 'recognitio equitum' as a formal decision given by Augustus, which was creditable to Ovid. Therefore while one couplet apiece only (93–6) is devoted to Ovid's judicial posts and his employment as arbitrator, two couplets are assigned to the 'recognitio equitum' to emphasize this. **honesti gloria** 'credit for uprightness' (merit) refers to the words **vitamque meam moresque probabas** (89). 'If the mere fact that I retained my position as an eques cannot now profit me, and if the reputation for uprightness I once had is irrevocably lost, and cannot be restored (**nulla redditur**), and so I can no longer appeal to that, still I can appeal to the fact that I had incurred no charge.' The word **redditur** refers to the impossibility of restoring his once lost 'honestas'. Goldbacher, p. 266. **honesti**, neuter, from the adjective 'honestum' used as a substantive. In Cicero it serves to translate the Greek τὸ καλόν, 'rectitude', Off. I. 14. Fin. II. 45. Thus it signifies 'virtue' 'uprightness'. Tac. A. V. 3. 4 'pauci, quis nulla ex honesto spes'. XIV. 53. 1 'iis, quibus aliqua honesti cura'. XVI. 32. 3 'habitu et ore ad exprimendam imaginem honesti exercitus'. Its substantival character is shown by the fact that it may be joined with an adjective: Lucan II. 389 'rigidi servator honesti'. Pers. II. 74 'incoctum generoso pectus honesto'. As a dative is usually expressed with 'reddere', I conjecture that **honestis** 'good acts' is perhaps what Ovid wrote: cp. Tac. A. II. 2. 6 'perinde odium pravis et honestis'. IV. 3. 4 'ut pro honestis et praesentibus flagitiosa et incerta exspectaret'. XI. 33. 1 'ad honesta seu prava iuxta levi'.

Editors, since Heinsius, have unnecessarily substituted the reading of a few unimportant MSS. **gratia** for **gloria** because 'gratiam reddere' is a common expression, M. II. 563. V. 15. P. III. 1. 81.

The expression **crimen adeptus eram** is unusual: but though 'adipisci' generally denotes to secure something good, it may be used of securing something bad: Tac. A. I. 74. 2 'potentiam apud unum, odium apud omnes adeptus'. So 'adipisci dolorem' Cic. Fin. I. 32, 'mortem' Suet. Dom. 14. 4. Fronto, p. 233 Naber, 'dedecus' Apul. Plat. II. 11.

93–4. Some understand **reorum** as (1) 'defendants' in a 'iudicium publicum'. So Némethy, who explains **nobis** as strictly plural 'iudicibus quaestionum perpetuarum'. This would mean that Ovid acted as one of the 'iudices' in the 'quaestiones perpetuae' (inf. 132 n.). Others (2), as Platz, as defendants before the 'tresviri capitales', on which bench Ovid served, whose function was both to hold a preliminary inquiry after a prisoner's arrest, and to hear police-court charges, Greenidge, Legal Procedure, p. 343. According to either view two distinct judicial functions are comprised in this couplet, one criminal in the first line, the other civil in the second.

But it is more likely that just as the couplet, 95–6, refers solely to

Ovid's functions as an arbitrator in private actions, so this couplet, 93–4, refers solely to his functions as a member of the centumviral court. Consequently **nobis** is singular in meaning, standing for 'mihi'. The plural 'nos' is constantly used by Ovid for 'ego', as I. 1. 31 'nos quoque, quisquis erit, ne sit miser ille, precamur'. I. 2. 11; 4. 3; 5. 61. II. 201, 555. IV. 1. 35; 2. 17, 58; 3. 10; 6. 37; 10. 30. V. 8. 19; 10. 9. So 'noster' is often used for 'meus', as in II. 30, 126, 313, 353. In this case, though **fortuna reorum** might mean (1) 'the property of defendants', against whom claims were brought in the centumviral court, as 'fortuna' often means 'property', V. 2. 57 'nec mea concessa est aliis fortuna'. Am. III. 7. 49 'quo mihi fortunae tantum?' Hor. Ep. I. 5. 12 'quo mihi fortunam, si non conceditur uti?'; in which sense the plural is more common, and is frequent in Cicero, as II Verr. III. 40, it is better explained (2) as 'the fate of defendants': for **fortuna** 'fate' cp. III. 1. 73 'in genus auctoris miseri fortuna redundat'. V. 1. 3 'hic quoque talis erit, qualis fortuna poetae'. Cic. Pis. 98 'neque in tabellis paucorum iudicum sed in sententiis omnium civium famam nostram fortunamque pendere'. The defendants are those against whom claims were made before the centumviri.

In this passage, and in P. III. 5. 23 'utque fui solitus, sedissem forsitan unus de centum iudex in tua verba viris', Ovid states that he was a member of the court of centumviri, a standing court said by Festus, p. 54 M., to have been composed of three men taken from each of the thirty-five tribes, whose jurisdiction was concerned with suits affecting ownership or transfer of rateable property, viz. the goods taken account of in the census, and especially wills, inheritances, and trusts. Cicero, de Or. I. 173, gives a list of the kinds of suits that came before them. They were presided over by ex-quaestors till Augustus transferred the presidency to the 'decemviri stlitibus iudicandis', a board which under the Republic tried 'causae liberales', processes affecting status. Roby, Roman Private Law, II. 314; Greenidge, Legal Procedure, p. 182. For an example of a centumviral case see Plin. Ep. V. 1, where Asudius Curianus instituted a suit against the coheirs to whom his mother had left her estate, disinheriting himself her son.

Ovid had been trained for the law, and, besides the judicial posts here mentioned, had held one of the lesser magistracies termed collectively the 'vigintiviratus', as a member of the board of 'tresviri capitales' IV. 10. 34 'eque viris quondam pars tribus una fui'. It is usually presumed that he served also on another of these boards, the 'decemviri stlitibus iudicandis', on the strength of F. IV. 384 'inter bis quinos usus honore viros'. But since it is questionable whether two posts in the 'vigintiviratus' could be held cumulatively by the same person until a later period, it is unlikely that Ovid was one of these 'decemviri'. Nipperdey therefore, Opusc. p. 485, proposed to read 'bis denos' for 'bis quinos'. This conjecture is probably right; Ovid then says that he was a member of the 'vigintiviratus' as having been one of the 'tresviri capitales'. See Ehwald, Jahresbericht, XXXI (1884), p. 199. Schanz, röm. Litt. II. 1. 267. Ovid's practical knowledge of the law has infused his poetry with abundant legal phraseology and allusions, which subject is discussed by Van Iddekinge, De insigni in poeta Ovidio Romani iuris peritia. Amstelod. 1811.

lisque is the brilliant correction of Heinsius for **usque** of the MSS., which Merkel vainly defends on the ground that the centumviri held office 'continuously' for a year. But though the duration of their

appointment was for a year, they did not sit continuously, but enjoyed the same vacations as the other courts. Pauly-Wissowa, V. 1939. Sen. apoc. 12 'quis nunc iudex toto lites audiet anno?', quoted by Merkel, is irrelevant, as that merely refers to the passion of the emperor Claudius for administering justice in season and out. **lis** means 'a suit', as in the phrase 'decemviri stlitibus iudicandis'. Varro, Ling. Lat. VII. 93 'quibus res erat in controversia, ea vocabatur lis'. Cicero distinguishes between 'lis', the 'suit' which is started 'in iure' and 'iudicium', the 'trial' by which it is decided. II Verr. III. 26 'ex agro homines traducis in forum . . . ad insolitam litem atque iudicium'. 32 'bona tua repetere ac persequi lite atque iudicio'. De Or. II. 99. Roby, Roman Private Law, II. 342. **lis** is used appropriately of a lawsuit before the centumviral court. Thus Quintilian, Inst. VII. 9. 3 (where the matters appertain to the centumviral jurisdiction) 'unde fere lites, praecipue ex testamentis, cum de libertate, aut etiam de hereditate contendunt ii, quibus idem nomen est, aut, quid sit legatum, quaeritur'.

inspicienda: i. q.: cognoscenda, 'to be adjudicated on'. Petron. 15 'iudex querelam inspiceret'. Val. Max. V. 8. 3 'a patribus conscriptis petiit, nequid ante de ea re statuerent, quam ipse Macedonum filique sui causam inspexisset'.

95. **res privatas**: private processes, actions between individuals, opposed to 'iudicia publica', processes involving an offence against the State. **res** is regular in the legal sense of a process, an action. Cic. II Verr. II. 118 'de rebus ab isto cognitis iudicatisque. Muren. 27. So A. A. II. 153 'lite fugent nuptaeque viros nuptasque mariti inque vicem credant res sibi semper agi'.

statui, 'I decided'. The verb means 'to settle' generally, Cic. Q. Fr. I. 19 'in rebus statuendis et decernendis'; and specially 'to give a legal decision'. Dig. V. 1. 2. 6 'ipse praetor debet causa cognita statuere'.

iudex: after formal preliminaries before the praetor, the majority of private actions were tried by a single judge, an arbitrator appointed by consent of the parties (Cic. Cluent. 120), who was termed 'iudex' or 'arbiter' according as the matter at issue was one of strict law or equity. Roby, Roman Private Law, II. 318.

97. **potui**: Roby, L. Gr. 1535.

extrema and **ultima** (99): sc. mea facta, i. e. the unnamed offence which constituted 'laesa maiestas', and brought about the catastrophe. IV. 4. 36 'in omnibus actis, ultima si demas, vita tuenda mea est'. P. II. 2. 105 'nec mea, si tantum peccata novissima demas, esse potest domui vita pudenda tuae'. P. I. 2. 143 'nos quoque praeteritos sine labe peregimus annos: proxima pars vitae transilienda meae'. This explanation agrees better with Ovid's language than to supply with **extrema** and **ultima** 'iudicia' from **iudicio** (98), with the sense that Ovid's ruin was produced by the two latest adverse decisions of Augustus evoked by (1) the Ars Amatoria, (2) the unknown offence; or, as Cocchia, to understand by **extrema** the last poem written by Ovid, the Ars Amatoria; for the Remedia was subsequent to it.

98. **non semel**, 'not once only', more than once, referring to the emperor's frequent revisions of the equites (90) and the judicial posts which Ovid had been permitted to hold (93–6). P. II. 4. 18 'non semel admonitu facta litura tuo est'. Sen. Tro. 134 'nil Troia semel te rege tulit'.

102. **pressere**: the elision at the end of the first foot is rare: instances in Hilberg, p. 761.

103. **cur aliquid vidi** refers to the culpable act of others affecting the honour of the Imperial House, which Ovid had witnessed unintentionally. III. 5. 49 'inscia quod crimen viderunt lumina, plector, peccatumque oculos est habuisse meum'. 6. 27 'nec breve nec tutum, quo sint mea, dicere, casu lumina funesti conscia facta mali'. As Ovid was an involuntary witness the word **feci** seems to imply rather much volition; therefore the reading of the Leiden MS. Lipsianus examined by Overdruck (p. 69) **flexi** 'I turned my eyes' is tempting. But Ovid probably means no more than that he caused his eyes to be guilty by looking. He might have closed them.

104. **imprudenti**: inadvertently.

cognita, 'discovered'. F. IV. 590 'orbe pererrato sola est iniuria facti cognita'.

mihi: sc. est. Hilberg, p. 414, shows that it is Ovid's practice at the end of a pentameter to omit 'est (st)' after an 'i' of doubtful quantity (mihĭ, tibĭ, sibĭ), only when, as in this line, the final 'i' rhymes with a long 'i' in the first half of the pentameter without causing any ambiguity to the sense: so inf. 208 'alterius facti culpa silenda mihi'. F. V. 494 'falsus eris. signi causa canenda mihi'. On the other hand, where ambiguity might arise, 'est' is retained, as V. 14. 42 'morte nihil opus est pro me, sed amore fideque: non ex difficili fama petenda tibi est'. There the omission of 'est' might lead to a mistaken connexion between the hexameter and pentameter, involving the following punctuation: 'morte nihil opus est pro me, sed amore fideque non ex difficili fama petenda tibi'. In cases where the omission of 'est' would not create a rhyme, the 'est' is regularly retained, as V. 7. 10 'quos habitem mores, discere cura tibi est'. I. 6. 6 'siquid adhuc ego sum, muneris omne tui est'.

105. He compares his own punishment for an involuntary act to the punishment of the hunter Actaeon, who was transformed into a stag and torn to pieces by his own hounds because he inadvertently saw the goddess Artemis bathing naked in the valley of Gargaphia on Mount Cithaeron. The legend is told by Callimachus, Hymn 5. 109 foll. Ov. M. III. 131 foll. Apollodor. III. 4. 4. The same conclusion, as here, as to the guiltlessness of the involuntary spectator is drawn in M. III. 141 'fortunae crimen in illo, non scelus invenies; quod enim scelus error habebat?' On the legend see Ziehen in Kekulé, Bonner Studien, p. 115. Since Ovid's offence concerned a member of the 'divine' Imperial House, the illustration is effective; for Actaeon was punished because he offended against the divine law that a mortal who without consent beheld a god should be punished. Callim. l. c. 101 "*ὅς κε τιν' ἀθανάτων, ὅκα μὴ θεὸς αὐτὸς ἕληται, ἀθρήσῃ, μισθῷ τοῦτον ἰδεῖν μεγάλῳ*".

106. **praeda fuit canibus**: imitated by Manil. V. 183 'quique erat Actaeon silvis imitandus et ante quam canibus nova praeda fuit'. On imitations of Ovid by Manilius see 319 n.

107. **scilicet** introduces a conclusion: 17 n.

in superis where gods are concerned: 383 n.

108. **numine**: a god, such as Augustus.

109. **malus**: 16 n.

abstulit: carried away, led astray. The word is used of being carried away by a cause contrary to the better judgement. I. 2. 99 'si me meus abstulit error'. H. 6. 131 'o demens Colchisque ablate

venenis'. Verg. Ec. 8. 41 'ut me malus abstulit error'. Cic. Fam. VIII. 17. 1 'nam mihi sentio bonam mentem iracundia et amore ablatam'.

error: Ovid constantly insists that his unknown offence was due to a mistake of judgement. III. 1. 52 'non facinus causam, sed suus error habet'. III. 6. 25, &c.

110. **parva**: small in means. IV. 8. 9 'parvam celebrare domum'. Verg. Aen. VIII. 543 'parvosque penatis'.

sine labe, 'without stain'. IV. 8. 33 'decem lustris omni sine labe peractis'. P. I. 2. 143 'nos quoque praeteritos sine labe peregimus annos'.

111–16. In my critical edition I transposed lines 111–12 to follow 113–14, regarding 113–14 as parenthetical: after the criticism of Vogel, Krit. Bemerk. p. 28, I now consider this transposition unnecessary: see my paper in Class. Quart. VIII. 23. The meaning is My house is insignificant also with the reserve (in the sense) that it is described as being distinguished in the time of my forefathers and inferior to none in nobility, and as not remarkable for either riches or poverty, so that (**unde . . . eques** = ita, ut inde ortus eques) a knight sprung from it is conspicuous in neither of these respects. Also, even supposing that (**sit** 115) my house is insignificant in property or extraction, my talent cannot be blamed for its remaining inconspicuous. Némethy, for some unknown reason, regards **quoque**, line 111, as pointless, and alters it to **quae** 'a house which', a doubtful improvement.

111, 112. There is some difficulty as to the expressions used, since **patrio aevo** would naturally mean 'in the time of my father', as 'patrius' is generally i. q. 'paternus', except where it means 'belonging to the patria', as in the phrase 'di patrii'. But this meaning conflicts with what Ovid says elsewhere of his family, which he describes as having been equestrian for many generations: Am. III. 15. 5 'usque a proavis vetus ordinis heres, non modo militiae turbine factus eques'. T. IV. 10. 7 'usque a proavis vetus ordinis heres, non modo fortunae munere factus eques'. P. IV. 8. 17 'seu genus excutias, equites ab origine prima usque per innumeros inveniemur avos'. Therefore, in order to reconcile this passage with the others, Bentley (Wordsworth, Correspondence of Bentley, II. 601) proposed to read **patrio arvo**, i. e. at Sulmo, 'in the land of my father', which expression occurs in Ibis 499. This is however unnecessary, as **patrio aevo** can mean 'in the time of my ancestors': 'patrius' has this meaning in M. III. 548 'patrium retinete decus' (glory inherited from your ancestor the serpent). Prop. II. 7. 20 'hic erit et patrio (ancestral) sanguine pluris amor'. IV. 1. 18 'cum tremeret patrio pendula turba sacro' (the rite of their forefathers). Ibid. 37 'nil patrium (of his forefathers) nisi nomen habet Romanus alumnus'. So probably 'patriae opes' T. IV. 5. 8. V. 4. 21. 'patrii foci' V. 11. 18. P. I. 3. 34. Cp. Cic. de Or. I. 84 'hic mos erat patrius Academiae'.

Further, Ovid's assertion that his family was inferior to none in 'nobilitas' might at first sight seem to imply that it was not equestrian but 'nobilis', viz. belonging to the senatorial aristocracy, which was not the case. It is however clear that **nobilitas** here means merely 'distinction'. Thus Seneca, Ep. 44. 3, writing to Lucilius, who had been promoted to be an eques, says 'omnes hi maiores tui sunt, si te illis geres dignum: geres autem, si hoc protinus tibi ipse persuaseris, a nullo te nobilitate superari', where, as is explained in the context, 'nobilitas' means 'distinction', viz. nobility of mind which is the heritage of philosophers. Ovid speaks of his family as being illustrious

locally at Sulmo, as Cicero, Rosc. Am. 15, speaks of the father of Sextus Roscius, a municeps of Ameria, as 'genere et nobilitate et pecunia non modo sui municipii verum etiam eius vicinitatis facile primus'. In Am. III. 8. 9 Ovid proudly contrasts his own old descent with that of a parvenu eques.

113. **et**: for this LH have **ut**, which Goldbacher would retain. He regards it as a repetition of **ut** in line 111, and understands **dicatur** in line 111 as belonging also to 113 **ut** (dicatur) **notanda**. He objects to **et** preceding **neque** as unusual; but it is found in Cic. de Sen. 7. Liv. X. 29. 2, and other passages quoted in Kühner, II. 2. 47 Anmerk. 1. **neque divitiis nec paupertate notanda.** That Ovid's father was a man of respectable means is shown by the fact that he gave his sons the best education available at Rome (IV. 10. 15). Besides a house at Rome near the Capitol (I. 3. 29), the poet himself owned a pleasure-garden (horti) near the city at the junction of the Clodian and Flaminian roads (P. I. 8. 43), and an estate inherited from his father (rura paterna) in his native district of the Paeligni (IV. 8. 10; P. I. 8. 41).

notanda, 'to be remarked'. 'Notare' in the sense of 'animadvertere' is frequent in imperial Latin. Friedländer on Petron. Cena Trimalchionis 27 'notavimus etiam res novas'.

114. **unde**: i. q. ut inde. **unde** sprung from it. Verg. Aen. V. 123 'Cloanthus . . . genus unde tibi, Romane Cluenti'.

conspiciendus: i. q. insignis. Am. II. 4. 42 'Leda fuit nigra conspicienda coma'. F. II. 310 'Maeonis aurato conspicienda sinu'. Tibull. I. 2. 70 'insideat celeri conspiciendus equo'. II. 3. 52 'incedat donis conspicienda meis'. Nepos, Att. 13 'supellex modica, non multa, ut in neutram partem conspici posset'.

115. **sit**: concessive.

vel . . . vel: used of things which may coexist. Roby, L. Gr. 2220.

117. **iuvenaliter**: with youthful audacity. M. VII. 805 'venatum in silvas iuvenaliter ire solebam'.

118. **grande . . . nomen**: the boastful language is characteristic of ancient poets. So Am. I. 15. 7 'mihi fama perennis quaeritur, in toto semper ut orbe canar'. M. XV. 871 foll. P. III. 2. 35 'vos etiam seri laudabunt saepe nepotes, claraque erit scriptis gloria vestra meis'. Hor. Carm. III. 30. Mart. I. 1. 1 'hic est quem legis ille, quem requiris, toto notus in orbe Martialis'. Ovid speaks with less certainty in P. II. 6. 33. Such boastful professions are satirized by Sterne, Tristram Shandy, Vol. I, ch. 4.

tamen, as here, stands usually second word in its clause: inf. 302, 337. III. 14. 12. IV. 8. 50. V. 1. 8. Hilberg, p. 205.

119. **turba doctorum**: the class of lovers of poetry; men of refined taste. So he speaks of himself IV. 10. 55 'utque ego maiores, sic me coluere minores, notaque non tarde facta Thalia mea est'. For **turba** applied to a 'throng' of poets cp. Hor. Sat. I. 4. 141 'multa poetarum veniat manus . . . ac te cogemus in hanc concedere turbam'. I. 10. 67 'poetarum seniorum turba'. Prop. III. 1. 12 'scriptorumque meas turba secuta rotas'.

For **doctorum** see 13 n.

120. **non fastiditis . . . viris**: celebrated writers. Litotes. Liv. XXX. 45. 5 'Polybius haudquaquam spernendus auctor'. IV. 20. 11 'haud spernendos testes'.

121. **corruit . . . domus**: P. I. 9. 13 'cum domus ingenti subito mea lapsa ruina concidit in domini procubuitque caput'.

sub denotes the attendant circumstance or cause: M. V. 62 'exhalantem sub acerbo vulnere vitam'. XIII. 34 'an quod in arma prior nulloque sub indice veni'. Ibis 401 'duo diversis sub eodem vindice caesi temporibus'.

122. **non exiguo crimine.** The gravity of the offence is artfully conceded, in order to conciliate Augustus by the admission that the punishment was therefore just. V. 10. 51 'ipsam quoque perdere vitam, Caesaris offenso numine, dignus eram'.

Here **crimen** means 'offence', as inf. 306, III. 6. 26, 35.

124. **ematuruerit.** The verb 'ematurescere' elsewhere signifies 'to come to maturity', here alone 'to become softer'. This bold use is illustrated by Cic. Brut. 288 'ipse Thucydides si posterius fuisset, multo maturior fuisset et mitior'. Ovid enriched the Latin language with many new words and uses of words, which are tabulated by Linse, De Ovidio vocabulorum inventore (1891). The intensive use of 'e' in composition in 'ematurescere' is found also in 'emaduisse' V. 4. 40, 'emoderandus' Rem. 130, 'emodulanda' Am. I. 1. 30, 'enutrivere' M. IV. 289, and perhaps 'evestigata' M. XV. 146, though there 'investigata' is now generally read.

125. **eventu poenae**: the result consisting in punishment. For the defining genitive after 'eventus' cp. P. II. 2. 31 'fortuna miserrima tuta est: nam timor eventu deterioris abest', i. e. there is no fear of a result consisting in a worse condition.

126. **venerit ut**, the reading of L and the Leiden MS., is more idiomatic than **ut fuerit** that of most MSS., **venerit** being a more forcible way of expressing **fuerit**, for which it is substituted because poetic diction tends to personify ideas and speak of them in language appropriate to concrete objects. Thus Verg. Aen. V. 344 'gratior et pulchro veniens in corpore virtus'. Prop. I. 18. 14 'non ita saeva tamen venerit ira mea'. Possibly also **venerit**, i. q. evenerit, is suggested by **eventu** in the hexameter. Hilberg, p. 74.

127. **citra**: short of. V. 8. 23 'peccavi citra scelus'. Tacitus imitates Ovid, A. XII. 22. 3 'ira Agrippinae citra ultima stetit'.

129. **paternae . . . opes**: P. IV. 15. 13 'inter opes et me, parvam rem, pone paternas'.

131–4. Ovid was condemned not after trial before the Senate or a 'quaestio publica', but by sentence of the emperor sitting in his private court. Introduction I, p. 41.

131. **decreto**: a judicial decision of the Senate. Tac. A. III. 37. 1. XIV. 49. 2. Willems, Droit public romain, p. 457.

132. **selecto iudice**: i. e. iudicibus selectis, a jury taken from the jurors on the praetor's 'album'. The 'quaestiones perpetuae' were retained under the empire, though they soon ceased to try capital cases. Dio LII. 20. 5 *τὰς δίκας πλὴν τῶν φονικῶν δικαζέτωσαν*. Suet. Aug. 32. In the third century they finally came to an end. Willems, p. 456.

133. **tristibus**: severe. III. 5. 26 'tristia leniri numina posse dei'; II. 39 'tristi Busiride'. Cp. P. II. 7. 56 'addita sunt poenis aspera verba meis'.

ita principe dignum: Manil. II. 485 'ut principe dignum est'.

134. **offensas**: III. 8. 40 'quod non offensas vindicet ense suas'.

135. **immite** suits better with **tristibus invectus verbis** than **immane** the reading of AHP, adopted by Heinsius.

136. **in**, 'in the matter of'. F. VI. 1 'hic quoque mensis habet dubias in nomine causas'. Am. I. 7. 34 'Tydides saevus in hoste fuit'.

138. **priva**, preserved by L, is corrupted in other MSS. into **parva**

or **parca.** The word 'privus', connected etymologically with 'privare' 'to take away', 'privatus' 'taken away', means what belongs to some one distinct from others, as his special property, opposed to 'publicus' what belongs to all. Nonius, p. 35. 20 'privum est proprium uniuscuiusque; inde et res privata'. Fest. 226 M. 'privos privasque antiqui dicebant pro singulis. ob quam causam et privata dicuntur; quae uniuscuiusque sint; hinc et privilegium et privatus; dicimus tamen et privatum, cui quid est ademptum'. It has the sense of (1) 'special' as here: Lucil. 50 'hisce abdomina tunni . . . priva dabo'. Hor. Sat. II. 5. 10 'turdus sive aliud privum dabitur tibi'. Ep. I. 1. 93. Iuv. 8. 68. Gell. XI. 16. 1 'Graeci ea dicunt privis vocibus'. (2) 'one each' distributive. Gell. X. 20. 4 'veteres priva dixerunt, quae nos singula'. Plaut. Pseud. 865. Lucr. III. 372. V. 274. Liv. XXX. 43. 9.

For **ibi** found in some of Heinsius' MSS. L and almost all MSS. have **tibi.** But the expression **sunt tibi** is weak; and the error is due no doubt to dittography.

ibi effectively repeats **in illo** (edicto) in the line above.

By **priva verba fortunae meae** is meant the special wording of the edict defining Ovid's status, and providing that he was not deprived of his property: 93 n. V. 4. 21.

fortunae: position, status. III. 4. 26 'intra fortunam debet quisque manere suam'. Prop. III. 9. 1 'Maecenas, eques Etrusco de sanguine regum, intra fortunam qui cupis esse tuam'. Cic. II Verr. I. 152 'quod ornamentum (i. e. bullam) pueritiae pater dederat, indicium atque insigne fortunae'.

139. **sano**: i. q. non insano. Hor. Sat. I. 5. 44 'nil ego contulerim iucundo sanus amico'.

sano is further defined by **mentis potenti.** Sen. Thyest. 546 'ferus ille et acer nec potens mentis truculentus Atreus'.

mentis, found in a few MSS. only, is omitted in L, in which **menti**, the incorrect reading of the majority of MSS., is added by the corrector.

142. **ire**: of the passing of time. A. A. II. 663 'quotus annus eat'. III. 62. H. 15. 61. Hor. Carm. II. 14. 5. There is the same proverbial expression in Theocr. 4. 43 χώ Ζεὺς ἄλλοκα μὲν πέλει αἴθριος, ἄλλοκα δ' ὕει.

143. **vidi ego**: a formula for introducing a familiar illustration: V. 8. 11 'vidi ego naufragium qui risit in aequora mergi'. Am. II. 12. 25. III. 4. 13. Rem. 101. P. I. 1. 51. Tibull. I. 4. 33. Prop. IV. 5. 61.

ulmum: vines were trained either on supports or on elms and poplars: Colum. V. 6. 4. Catull. 62. 54 '(vitis) ulmo coniuncta marito'. Am. II. 16. 41 'ulmus amat vitem, vitis non deserit ulmum'. Verg. Ec. 2. 70 'semiputata tibi frondosa vitis in ulmo est'. G. I. 2.

144. **fuerat saevi**: the order (not 'saevi fuerat') is prescribed by the law which Ovid follows that the first half of the pentameter should end, where possible, with a syllable long by nature, Hilberg, p. 560.

145. For **sperabimus** L has **sperauimus**: but Ovid means that he will hope, not that he has hoped. The mistake is due to pronunciation, a common source of error in MSS. Early in the empire the pronunciation of v and the labial b became hardly distinguishable: thus 'biginti', 'bixit', for 'viginti', 'vixit', are common in inscriptions. Hence arose complete confusion, and the evidence of the sense rather than of the MSS. should preponderate. Lindsay, Lat. Language, p. 47. Havet, Manuel de Critique Verbale, § 928. Grandgent, Vulgar Latin, p. 135.

usque, the correction of Heinsius for the insipid **atque** of Γω, is confirmed by the corrupt reading of L **utque.** The meaning 'con-

tinually' is frequent in Ovid: I. 3. 18, 102. III. 7. 54. H. 1. 83. A. A. I. 454. Rem. 537. M. VI. 555. IX. 682. P. I. 9. 20. III. 1. 30.

147. **mitissime**: 43 n. On the ellipsis of 'respicio' see 175n.

148. **facta**: his offences. III. 6. 35 'stultitiamque meum crimen debere vocari, nomina si facto reddere vera velis'.

149. For **aera**, for which many MSS. have **aequora**, cp. 36. A. A. III. 173 'sine nubibus aer'. M. XIV. 544 'aeraque et tumidum subitis concursibus aequor Astraei (the winds) turbant et eunt in proelia fratres'.

151. **silescunt**: Catull. 46. 2 'iam caeli furor aequinoctialis iucundis Zephyri silescit auris'.

152. **putes**, 'one would think'. With the 2nd person singular of the hypothetical subjunctive the subject implied is general. I. 2. 20. Roby, 1544.

153. **variant**: take different forms. Intransitive as M. XV. 648 'dissidet et variat sententia'. Rem. 525. Prop. II. 5. 11.

155. **per superos**: the apodosis of this long prayer begins at 179 **parce precor**. Compare the similar long appeal in P. II. 8. 23 foll.

156. **tempora**, 'life'; so Cic. Att. I. 20. 2 'tranquillitatem meorum temporum'. The plural **tempora** means a succession of moments; hence **tempora** signifies (1) 'duration', P. II. 1. 54 'di tibi dent annos, a te nam cetera sumes, sint modo virtuti tempora longa tuae'. M. III. 347 'tempora maturae longa senectae'. M. I. 116: or (2) 'time', 'years' as here. H. 7. 142 'teris in rapido tempora longa freto'. Am. II. 9. 42 'longa quiescendi tempora fata dabunt'. P. I. 5. 48 'quo ponam vigilans tempora longa modo?' M. IV. 40. 696. So inf. 560 'tua tempora' 'your time, your period'. 'Tempora' in post-Augustan Latin frequently means 'reign'. Iuv. 4. 80, 151.

Romanum nomen: the Roman nation, those who bear the name of Roman; so 221, M. I. 201. So in historians, thus Liv. I. 10. 3 'nomen Caeninum'; 23. 4 'nomen Albanum'.

157. **parente**: as being 'pater patriae', for which 'parens patriae' was sometimes used as equivalent. Tac. A. II. 87. 2 'parentis patriae delatum vocabulum'. Cp. Cic. Rabir. perd. 27 'C. Marium vere patrem patriae, parentem vestrae libertatis'. See supra 39 n.

158. **ut in populo**: sc. fit, or fieri potest: 'of which, as is a common thing among the crowd'; i. e. 'of which I was lately an ordinary member of the throng'. The phrase means little more than 'among the crowd'. It is found in I. 1. 17 'siquis, ut in populo, nostri non inmemor illi'. P. IV. 5. 11 'siquis, ut in populo, qui sitis et unde requiret'. P. I. 7. 16 'in quibus, ut populo, pars ego parva fui'. Hor. Sat. I. 6. 79 'vestem servosque sequentes, in magno ut populo, si qui vidisset'.

The language is self-depreciatory: cp. 59. IV. 2. 16.

159. **sic**. In protestations which take the form of a wish 'sic' (and 'ita') introduces a clause or clauses which institute a comparison between the wish itself and some other circumstance or circumstances. Thus incidentally the clause introduced by 'sic' may involve a condition, though it does not, as is often stated, always do so. A comparison not a condition is what is involved. In these cases **sic** means 'so surely as'. This is so in this long protestation which occupies twenty-four lines (157–80), opening with an oath formally expressed, followed by 'sic' which is four times repeated, and concluding with the imperative **parce**. Simplified it may be stated 'Per superos, per patriam, sic tibi reddatur urbis amor, sic Livia sociales compleat annos' etc., 'sic Victoria nunc quoque se praestet, sic hic (Tiberius) redeat, parce precor'. 'By the gods who protect you and your country whose

protector you are, I beseech you, be merciful to me, so surely as I pray that you may secure the City's affection, and that you and your consort Livia may live long, and that you and the princes of your House may be gloriously preserved, and that victory may attend you and your heir-apparent.' Here there is no question of a condition. Poor Ovid could not make the emperor's welfare conditional on his own prayer being granted. So T. V. 3. 35–42 'fer, bone Liber, opem: sic altera degravet ulmum vitis et incluso plena sit uva mero, sic tibi cum Bacchis Satyrorum gnava iuventus adsit, et attonito non taceare sono... sic micet aeternum vicinaque sidera vincat coniugis in caelo clara corona tuae'. 'Help me, Bacchus, so surely as I pray that your beloved vine may flourish and that you may receive your usual honours.' Lygdamus-Tibull. III. 6. 1 'candide Liber ades: sic sit tibi mystica vitis semper, sic hedera tempora vincta feras; aufer et ipse meum patera medicante dolorem'. 'Bacchus, come and heal my pain, so surely as I pray that you may ever have the mystic vine and ivy-band about your brow.' In both these passages 'sic' emphasizes the intensity of the prayer; in neither case could the poet make conditions with the god. In prayers of this sort the thing prayed for is usually, as here, expressed by the imperative, as III. 4. 75. IV. 5. 23. V. 2. 53; 3. 58; sometimes by a verb of praying followed by a subjunctive as H. 4. 167 'per Venerem, parcas, oro... sic numquam, quae te spernere possit, ames'. Hor. Carm. I. 3. 1 'sic te diva potens Cypri, sic fratres Helenae, lucida sidera, ventorumque regat pater ... Vergilium reddas incolumem precor'. On this last passage see Bennett, Classical Quarterly, VIII. 145.

160. **debitus**: qualis debet esse. Ibis 30 'debitus hostis'.

urbis amor: on the popularity of Augustus with all classes at Rome see Suet. Aug. 57. 'He had gained the affection of the provincials and of the Italian people; he had pleased the Roman plebs, he had done his best to conciliate the nobility.' Pelham, Outlines of Roman History, p. 429.

161. **Livia** Drusilla, the wife of Ti. Claudius Nero, was married by Augustus, after he had forced her husband to surrender her. On her character and personal charms see Tac. A. V. 1. Vellei. II. 75 'Livia genere probitate forma Romanarum eminentissima'. The statement that she alone was worthy to be the wife of Augustus is repeated, P. II. 8. 29 'perque tori sociam, quae par tibi sola reperta est'. III. 1. 118 'sola est caelesti digna reperta toro'. F. I. 650 'sola toro magni digna reperta Iovis'. This may be intended artfully as an excuse for her abduction, and is in keeping with the flattery elsewhere bestowed on her. T. I. 6. 25 'femina seu princeps omnes tibi culta per annos te docet exemplum coniugis esse bonae, adsimilemque sui longa adsuetudine fecit'. P. III. 1. 125. IV. 13. 29.

sociales: i. q. coniugales. This is the only meaning of 'socialis' in Ovid. So V. 14. 28 'socialis amor' (addressing his wife). P. III. 1. 73 'exigit hoc socialis amor foedusque maritum'. H. 4. 17 'non ego nequitia socialia foedera rumpam'.

164. **erat** the indicative in apodosis with subjunctive in protasis of a conditional sentence expresses either (1) as here, what was an actual fact: so H. 8. 28 'si non esses vir mihi, frater eras (you were my cousin)'. P. I. 7. 51 'ipse suas etiam vires inhiberet Achilles, missa gravis ictus Pelias hasta dabat'. F. IV. 487 'unaque, pastorem vidisset an arva colentem, vox erat "hac gressus ecqua puella tulit?"' Hor. Sat. I. 3. 15 'deciens centena dedisses, nil erat in loculis'. Or (2) what came near to being a fact: Am. I. 6. 34 'solus eram, si non

saevus adesset Amor'; 14. 3 'at si passa fores, quid erat spatiosius illis?' M. XI. 230 'si foret altior unda, portus erat'. Verg. G. II. 132 'si non alium iactaret odorem, laurus erat'.

165. **sit tecum** corresponds rhetorically to **sic tecum** (161). To make the correspondence more complete Goldbacher would read **sic** (L^3) **tecum** in this line, understanding 'compleat annos' as the predicate.

natus: Tiberius, who succeeded Augustus as emperor, was the son of Livia, Suet. Tib. 4, and adopted son, Tac. A. I. 3, Suet. Tib. 15, and stepson of Augustus by marriage to his daughter Julia, Tac. A. I. 53. Suet. Aug. 63. Tib. 7.

olim: an adverb from the old Latin ollus = ille, connected etymologically with ultra, ultimus (Walde), from meaning 'at that time' came to signify (1) 'at any former time', 'formerly', (2) 'at any time', 'sometimes', (3) rarely, as here, 'at some future time', 'some day'. So inf. 182. Am. III. 11. 7 'dolor hic tibi proderit olim'. F. I. 517. M. XV. 434. Verg. Aen. IV. 627. Hor. Carm. II. 10. 17.

166. Imitated by Martial VI. 3. 4 'quique regas orbem cum seniore senex'.

hic, found in G^2, one fifteenth-century Bodleian MS., and the early printed editions, gives a better meaning than **hoc** the reading of most MSS. generally accepted.

hoc appears to be an interpolation made to provide a pronoun in agreement with **inperium**: then **inperium hoc** signifies the Roman empire, which Ovid calls 'Ausonium inperium' P. II. 2. 70. If retained **inperium hoc** would mean 'this empire in which we live', like 'caput hoc' 'this head of mine', i.e. 'me', supr. 102. P. I. 2. 53. II. 1. 66; 7. 54: 'hoc studium' 'my present occupation' P. I. 5. 51: 'latus hoc' 'my side', i.e. 'me', P. IV. 10. 30: 'tempus hoc' 'the present time' P. IV. 14. 60. Ibis 1.

But, as Hilberg argues p. 58, **hic** is effective if understood not as the pronoun but the adverb 'here on earth', Hor. Carm. I. 2. 49 'hic magnos potius triumphos, hic ames dici pater atque princeps'. He further remarks that the order **inperium regat hic** is intended to prevent misunderstanding: if Ovid had written 'hic regat inperium' hardly any reader would have understood **hic** to be the adverb not the demonstrative pronoun. **Inperium** means 'sovereignty' not 'the empire'; accusative not of direct object but of extent as P. III. 3. 61 'sic regat inperium terrasque coerceat omnis Caesar'. Verg. Aen. I. 340 'inperium Dido Tyria regit urbe profecta'. Sen. Hipp. 618 'te inperia regere, me decet iussa exsequi'.

For the wish cp. III. 1. 58.

167. **ut faciunt**: a phrase approximating to our auxiliary verb 'do'. IV. 5. 19. P. II. 3. 48. M. VII. 815. XIII. 741.

The grandsons (**nepotes**) of Augustus, Drusus, the son, and Germanicus, the adopted son of Tiberius, are described in flattering language as **sidus iuvenale** 'a valorous constellation'. **sidus** is a constellation consisting of more stars than one, **stella** a single star. **Sidus** is thus applied to persons as a complimentary expression P. III. 3. 2 'o sidus Fabiae, Maxime, gentis, ades'. Lucan X. 85 'o maxime Caesar, . . . tu gentibus aequum sidus ades nostris'. Suet. Calig. 13 (of Caligula on his accession) 'laetissimo obviorum agmine incessit, super fausta nomina sidus . . . appellantium'. Manil. I. 384 'uno vincuntur in astro, Augusto, sidus nostro qui contigit orbi'. So Hor. Sat. I. 7. 24 'solem Asiae Brutum appellat, stellasque salubres appellat comites'. Sometimes conversely the sense is uncomplimentary,

Lucan X. 35, where, on account of his destructive career, Alexander the Great is called 'sidus iniquum gentibus'.

168. **per facta eant**: follow in the path of, i.e. imitate your deeds: A. A. III. 87 'ite per exemplum, genus o mortale, dearum'. M. IV. 430 'cur non stimuletur eatque per cognata suis exempla furoribus Ino?'

tui . . . parentis: Julius Caesar. The ill-supported reading **sui**, usually accepted, would mean Tiberius.

169. The dat. **tuis castris** depends on **adsueta**: M. XV. 484 'gentem feroci adsuetam bello'. F. I. 442 'adsuetum silvis genus'. T. I. 5. 74 'adsuetus studiis mollibus ipse fui'. P. III. 3. 107.

Victoria. This goddess was the female, as Jupiter Victor was the male personification of the supreme power which gives victory: the two are connected, C. I. L. VI. 2086. 27 'Iovi Victori b(ovem) m(arem) a(uratum) et Victoriae b(ovem) f(eminam) a(uratam)'. Under the empire the goddess was venerated as the embodiment of the military might of the emperors: thus the Ludi Victoriae Caesaris were held in her honour. Her temple stood on the Palatine. Wissowa, Religion u. Kultus d. Röm. p. 139. Lanciani, Ruins and Excavations, p. 126. She is mentioned Ov. M. VI. 82. VIII. 13 'inter utrumque volat dubiis Victoria pennis'. Tibull. II. 5. 45 'ecce super fessas volitat Victoria puppes'. She was represented as having wings.

170. **se praestet**, 'show herself'. In this sense 'se praestare' is usually connected either with an adjective as IV. 10. 104 'seque praestitit invictam', or with a prepositional phrase as IV. 5. 23 'te praesta constanter ad omne indeclinatae munus amicitiae'.

171. **Ausonium ducem**: Tiberius. It is improbable that this passage (169–75) relates, as Masson supposed, Ovidii Vita, ann. IX. 1. 4, p. 83 Burman, to the campaign of Tiberius against Germany undertaken to avenge the disaster of Varus, since Tiberius did not go to Germany till the spring of A. D. 10, the date of the composition of this book, and no actual campaign took place till A. D. 11. Gardthausen, Augustus u. s. Zeit, I. 1224. The reference is to the revolt in Dalmatia and Pannonia, which began in the summer of A. D. 6, and was finally suppressed by Tiberius in the summer of A. D. 9, when the Dalmatian chief Bato surrendered, and was pardoned and sent to Ravenna. P. II. 1. 46. Vellei. II. 115. Gardthausen, I. 1191. II. 786. Pauly-Wissowa, Bato 5. That war was drawing to its close about the time at which this passage was written, thus Ovid speaks of the war as not yet finished (177): for though this book of the Tristia was not completed before the winter of A. D. 9–10, it is improbable that the news of the success of Tiberius had reached Tomis when this book was sent to Rome. Owing to the disaster of Varus the triumph of Tiberius was not celebrated till Jan. 16, A. D. 13, Gardthausen, I. 1228; that triumph is described by Ovid, P. II. 1, II. 2. 77–80, and was celebrated by him in a poem now lost, Schanz, röm. Litt. II. 2. 340. Ov. P. III. 4. 3 foll. In P. III. 4. 88 Ovid speaks also with expectation of a second triumph over the Germans soon to follow: see Ehwald, Krit. Beiträge, p. 80.

172. **nitida**: glistening with unguent. H. 21. 166 'spissaque de nitidis tergit amoma comis'. A. A. I. 734. F. III. 2 'Mars ades, et nitidas casside solve comas'. Hor. Carm. I. 4. 9 'nitidum caput'. II. 7. 7 'coronatus nitentes malobathro Syrio capillos'.

laurea serta: the crown of bay leaves worn by the general at his triumph. P. II. 2. 90 'venit honoratis laurea digna comis'.

174. **auspicium**: the right of consulting the auspices in war belonged to the commanding general. The possession by the emperor of the

perpetual 'proconsulare imperium' involved the possession of this right, which was delegated by him to commanders acting for him. Here the **auspicium** is committed by Augustus to Tiberius, as it was committed to his young grandson Gaius, when dispatched on the expedition against Parthia 1 B.C. A. A. I. 191 'auspiciis animisque patris, puer, arma, movebis, et vinces animis auspiciisque patris'. Hence **auspicium** means the command conferred on a general by the emperor as supreme commander. Thus the campaigns in which Augustus commanded personally are distinguished from those which he deputed to others by Suet. Aug. 21 'domuit autem partim ductu partim auspiciis suis Cantabriam' etc.; and Augustus himself makes the same distinction Mon. Anc. 4. 24 'ob res a me aut per legatos meos auspiciis meis terra marique prospere gestas'; 26. 18 'meo iussu et auspicio ducti sunt duo exercitus in Aethiopiam et Arabiam'; 30. 47 'Dacorum exercitus meis auspiciis victus est'. So of the Raetian campaigns of Tiberius and Drusus, Hor. Carm. IV. 14. 33 'te copias, te consilium et tuos praebente divos', i. e. 'te praebente auspicia'.

On **tuos** see 62 n.

175. **es praesens**: you are present in person. Hor. Ep. II. 1. 15 'praesenti tibi maturos largimur honores'. For the order cp. P. II. 9. 57 'es doctus'; 10. 11 'es usus'. IV. 14. 5 'est invisa'. The insertion of **es** after **tui** by Goldbacher, who suggested **tui 's**, and Némethy is the neatest correction. It is grammatically necessary, for, though editors, such as Merkel and Loers, who retain the reading of most MSS. **praesens et respicis**, supply 'es' with **praesens** from 176, comparing M. XI. 243 'sed modo tu volucris (es): volucrem tamen ille tenebat'. F. IV. 13 'venimus ad quartum, quo tu celeberrima (es), mensem', in those passages the ellipsis of the verb (es) is easy, as in passages where the verb can be supplied from an adjacent verb, as supr. 147 'spes mihi magna subit, cum te, mitissime princeps, (respicio), spes mihi, respicio cum mea facta, cadit', whereas here the ellipsis of 'es' is intolerable, on account of the presence of the adjacent verb **respicis**, which ought to, but cannot be supplied. Burman accepted **praesens hanc . . . urbem** from a few MSS., but **hanc urbem** to Ovid, writing in exile, could not have signified Rome, but only Tomis.

respicis: not 'look at', 'reflect on', the common meaning as in 148, but i. q. 'curam habes', 'take thought for', 'watch over'. The word is thus used of the thought for the interests of an inferior taken by a superior, whether (a) a god, Plaut. Rud. 1316 'di homines respiciunt'. Ter. Andr. 642 'nisi quid di respiciunt'. Phorm. 817 'di nos respiciunt'; or (b) a more powerful human being, I. 8. 13 'ut neque respiceres, nec solarere iacentem'. P. II. 3. 93 'respicis antiquum lassis in rebus amicum'. H. 1. 113 'respice Laerten'. 3. 137 'respice sollicitam Briseida, fortis Achille'. 12. 187 'si tibi sum vilis, communis respice natos'. Verg. Aen. IV. 275 'spes heredis Iuli respice'. Iuv. 7. 3 'solus enim tristes hac tempestate Camenas respexit'.

178. **in coronatis . . . equis**: Prop. III. 1. 9 'a me nata coronatis Musa triumphat equis'. Like the general himself, the chariot and the horses, which drew his chariot at his triumph, were garlanded with bay leaves. Suet. Aug. 94. 6 'radiata corona super laureatum currum'. Stat. Theb. VIII. 127 'lauroque insignis opima currus'. T. IV. 2. 22 'ante coronatos ire videbit equos'. P. II. 1. 57 'te quoque victorem Tarpeias scandere in arces laeta coronatis Roma videbit equis'. The expression **in equis** means seated in a chariot drawn by horses. For the preposition cp. A. A. I. 214 'quattuor in niveis aureus ibis equis'.

F. VI. 724 'vectus es in niveis, Postume, victor equis'. The plural 'equi', like the Homeric ἵπποι, is used compendiously (1) for the horses and chariot, as for the horses and chariot of Achilles (ἵππους τε καὶ ἅρματα Il. X. 322) to which Dolon aspired M. XIII. 253 'cuius equos pretium pro nocte poposcerat hostis', (2) for a chariot drawn by horses, as Pind. Ol. 1. 41 χρυσέαισιν ἀν' ἵπποις, H. 1. 46 'dictus es Ismariis isse per agmen equis' (a chariot drawn by Thracian horses). M. XIV. 820 'inpavidus conscendit equos Gradivus'. P. II. 8. 40 'ante triumphantis serva feratur equos'. So of the chariot of Bacchus drawn by tigers. H. 2. 80 'inque capistratis tigribus alta sedet'. Verg. G. III. 358 'invectus equis'. Aen. XII. 736. Hor. Ep. I. 7. 77 'impositus mannis'.

179. The punishments of the divine emperor are compared metaphorically to the thunderbolts of Jupiter. I. 1. 72 'venit in hoc illa fulmen ab arce caput'; 81 'me quoque, quae sensi, fateor Iovis arma timere: me reor infesto, cum tonat, igne peti'. Introduction IV, p. 80.

fulmen is collective, the thunderbolts. The poetic plural **fera tela** in apposition suggests that the emperor could inflict many punishments. The plural is found in apposition to the singular, H. 3. 149 'a, potius serves nostram, tua munera, vitam', where the plural seems to suggest the prolonged bounty. F. I. 527 'Aeneas sacra et, sacra altera, patrem adferet'.

181. **pater patriae**: 39 n.

182. **olim**: 165 n.

185. **mitius exilium**: a place of exile more genial in climate. Ovid complains of three things with regard to the place of his banishment, (1) the inclemency of its climate, (2) its remoteness, (3) the proximity of barbarian marauders. The same three points are urged IV. 4. 51 'mitius exilium pauloque propinquius opto, quique sit a saevo longius hoste locus'. For **mitius** cp. P. II. 7. 63 'mitius exilium faciunt loca: tristior ista terra sub ambobus non iacet ulla polis'. P. IV. 4. 50 'exilium mollius'. Plin. Ep. IV. 11. 13 'exilium molle': for **propinquius** Ibis 27 'faciet quoque forsitan idem terra sit ut propior testificanda mihi'. Of hostile marauders there are frequent complaints, as inf. 577. III. 11. 13. IV. 1. 21. V. 2. 32.

186. For **magna** L has **parua**, which I retained in my critical edition, i. e. 'some slight portion of my punishment'. But it is more in keeping with Ovid's flattery of Augustus that he should say that the mere change of his place of exile to one more tolerable and nearer home will be a great (**magna**) boon.

187. **ultima**: the extremities of misery. III. 2. 11 'ultima nunc patior'. M. XIV. 483 'ultima iam passi comites'.

189. **septemplicis Histri**: III. 10. 28 (Hister) 'miscetur vasto multa per ora freto'. Authorities varied as to the number of the Danube's mouths; Herodotus IV. 47 gives five, Pliny, N. H. IV. 79 and Ptolemy III. 10. 2 six, Strabo VII. 3. 15 and Mela II. 1. 8 seven. 'We can see by the varying accounts of authors that the real mouths of the river closed and shifted, as has happened with all the Black Sea rivers, but that old names and old descriptions lived on in geography books and led compilers astray. . . . The question of the number of mouths is never settled; to-day one may count anything from three to twelve, and no doubt it was the same in ancient times.' Minns, Scythians and Greeks, p. 13.

The Danube marked the frontier of the Roman empire: Senec. N. Q. VI. 7. 1 'medius inter pacata et hostilia fluit Danuvius, Sarmaticos inpetus cohibens et Europam Asiamque disterminans'. The name Danuvius is Keltic, the name Ister, Ἴστρος (189) Thracian in origin.

190. **Parrhasiae . . . virginis**: the constellation of the Great Bear, the most brilliant in the northern hemisphere, called the Bear (Ἄρκτος) because Callisto, daughter of the Arcadian King Lycaon, having won the love of Zeus and become the mother of Arcas, was changed into a she-bear by the jealous Juno, and transferred by Jupiter with her son Arcas to the sky, where they formed the constellation of the Great and Little Bear. M. II. 401 foll.

Parrhasiae: belonging to Parrhasia, a town of Arcadia, Hom. Il. II. 608. Plin. N. H. IV. 20, in the poets is used frequently by synecdoche for Arcadian, I. 3. 48. F. I. 478. Verg. Aen. VIII. 344.

axe. The modifications in the meaning of this word are interesting. (1) Strictly **axis** (ἄξων) means the imaginary line passing through the earth from one pole of the heavens to the other, round which the sphere of the heavens was supposed to revolve. F. IV. 179 'ter sine perpetuo caelum versetur in axe'. Arat. Phaen. I. 19 *οἱ μὲν ὁμῶς πολέες τε καὶ ἄλλυδις αλλοι ἰόντες οὐρανῷ ἕλκονται πάντ' ἤματα συνεχὲς αἰεί· αὐτὰρ ὅγ' οὐδ' ὀλίγον μετανίσσεται, ἀλλὰ μάλ' αὔτως ἄξων αἰὲν ἄρηρεν, ἔχει δ' ἀτάλαντον ἁπάντῃ μεσσηγὺς γαῖαν, περὶ δ' οὐρανὸν αὐτὸν ἀγινεῖ.* Manil. I. 279 'aera per gelidum tenuis deducitur axis libratumque regit diverso cardine mundum'.

(2) It stands for one, as here, of the poles, usually the northern. M. II. 515 'caelo videritis stellas illic, ubi circulus axem ultimus extremum spatioque brevissimus ambit'. T. III. 2. 2 'quaeque Lycaonio terra sub axe iacet' (the North Pole near the Bear). III. 10. 12 'tum patet has gentes axe tremente premi'. IV. 8. 41 'vita procul patria peragenda sub axe Boreo'. V. 2. 64 'haec gelido terra sub axe iacet'. Verg. G. II. 271 'quae terga obverterit axi'. III. 351 'quaque redit medium Rhodope porrecta sub axem'. The expression I. 3. 48 'versaque ab axe suo Parrhasis Arctos erat' means 'the Arcadian Bear had disappeared from her pole', viz. her quarter of the sky close to the North Pole. So Senec. H. F. 1139 'ubi sum? sub ortu solis, an sub cardine glacialis Vrsae?' It means both poles in Lucan VII. 422 'te geminum Titan procedere vidit in axem'. Here the meaning is 'I am beneath the North Pole'.

(3) It stands for the whole sky. I. 2. 46 'quantus ab aetherio personat axe fragor'. F. III. 368 'gravis aetherio venit ab axe fragor'. M. I. 254 'ne forte sacer tot ab ignibus aether conciperet flammas longusque ardesceret axis'. So Verg. Aen. II. 512. IV. 482. VI. 797.

(4) Occasionally, by synecdoche, it stands for a part of the sky, a quarter of the heavens. M. IV. 214 'axe sub Hesperio sunt pascua Solis equorum'.

191–2. This couplet is designed to emphasize the remoteness of Tomis, which is too vaguely indicated by the expression **egressus Histri**, l. 189; and to excite horror by the thought that the Danube scarcely protects the frontier post, the poet's place of exile, from incursions of the wild migratory Scythian tribes, who lived in the savage regions north of it, extending away beyond the Maeotis.

191. **Ciziges** found in L should be retained: it is variously corrupted in MSS. akin to L. This Sarmatian tribe lived east of the Maeotis near the Tanais (Don), being apparently identical with the Cizici of Pliny, H. N. VI. 19 'Tanain amnem incolunt Sarmatae. primi Sauromatae . . . dein Cizici'. There 'Cizici' is the form best attested, variants being 'Zizici' and 'Czici' (Mayhoff). But in both Ovid and Pliny variations of form signify little in a barbarous name. See Classical Quarterly, VIII. 24.

The reading **Iazyges**, found in most MSS. and many editions, is an interpolation. The Iazyges were a Sarmatian tribe, who lived between the

Hypanis (Bug) and Borysthenes (Dnieper), and appear to have reached the Danube. Strabo VII. 4. 17. Tac. A. XII. 29. Minns, Scythians and Greeks, p. 120. These would suit geographically, but the synizesis 'îazyges' is impossible. Ovid elsewhere scans 'ĭazyx' P. IV. 7. 9, 'ĭazyges' Ibis 133. P. I. 2. 77. He uses synizesis rarely, though the i is consonantal in 'semianimis' I. 3. 92, H. 10. 32, 'semiadaperta' Am. I. 6. 4, 'Antium' M. XV. 718, 'promunturium' M. XV. 709, where L. Müller, de Re Metr. ed. 2, p. 302, probably wrongly regards the u as short, since the word is etymologically akin to *προμυκτήριον*, Walde, Lat. etym. Wörterbuch, p. 494. 'Conubia' has u undoubtedly long, H. 2. 81 'conubia Thraces'. Am. II. 7. 21. F. III. 195: in H. 6. 41 'conubialia' M. VI. 428 'conubio' it is doubtful whether the u is long, with synizesis, or whether the u had a double quantity, and in these cases is short, as suggested by L. Müller, de Re Metr. p. 303. Munro on Lucr. III. 776. There is no example in Ovid of such vowels becoming consonantal at the beginning of a word: nor is the similar word Iaxartes ever treated thus till late. In Hor. Carm. IV. 2. 2 'Iulle (not Iule) ceratis ope Daedalea' the i in 'Iulle' is consonantal. I conclude that Ovid did not mention the Iazyges here, and the statement of Mr. Minns, Scythians and Greeks, p. 121, that 'Ovid still knows the Iazyges in W. Sarmatia' refers to P. I. 2. 77. IV. 7. 9. Ibis 133, not to this line.

The **Colchi**, a seafaring people, south-west of the Caucasus, were the traditional founders of Panticapaeum (Kerch), the port of the Cimmerian Bosporus. Stephanus s.v., Rostovtzeff, Iranians and Greeks in South Russia, p. 18.

Teretea is the conjecture of Ellis (Hermathena, VII. 193) for the meaningless **Meterea** of the MSS. This people were situated north of the Colchi, on the coast to the south-east of the Cimmerian Bosporus (Minns, l. c. p. 128). They are 'called *Τορέται* by Steph. Byz. and Dionysius, Perieg. 682, by Strabo *Τορεάται*, XI. 2. 11, by Priscian, Periegesis, 664 Orĕtae, by Pliny, N. H. VI. 17 variably in the best MSS. Toretae, Teretae, Eretae, Oretae'.—Ellis.

The **Getae** were an extensive Scythian nomadic people, who came from the district north of the Danube and tended gradually to encroach to the south of it. Minns, l. c. 122 foll. With them Ovid comes nearer home. Cp. III. 10. 5.

This couplet is unnecessarily rejected as an interpolation by Bentley, Schrader, Ehwald, and Némethy, chiefly because of the unsatisfactory synizesis in Iazyges and the obscurity of the names. In my large critical edition I transposed the couplet so as to follow after 198, that the tribes mentioned might stand together (a) 197–8 those nearer to Tomis, (b) 191–2 those more remote. But besides that there is little trace of dislocation of lines in the Tristia, it must be noted that Ovid defines the horrible character of his place of exile by three points: he lives (1) among enemies (187), (2) of all exiles most remote from Rome (188), (3) under the cold northern sky (190). These three points are repeated in corresponding order in the following couplets: (1) **medios eiectus in hostes** (187) in 191–2 **Ciziges . . . aquis**, (2) **nec quisquam patria longius exul abest** in 193–4 **cumque . . . est**, (3) **Parrhasiae gelido virginis axe premor** in 195–6 **longius . . . gelu**. For **Meterea** Merula conjectured **Neurea**, Schrader **Neurique et**, comparing Val. Flacc. VI. 122 'Neurus et expertes canentis Iazyges aevi'. The Neuri were a tribe of southern Russia north of Odessa.

192. **Danuvii**: the MSS. have **Danubii** which spelling often occurs in MSS. But the form **Danuuius**, found in Tac. A. II. 63. 1. IV. 5. 5

and in inscriptions, appears to be correct. Little account can be taken of the spelling of MSS., since from the first century A. D. v tended to be pronounced b. Grandgent, Vulgar Latin, § 318. See 145 n.

mediis: intervening. III. 10. 7 'medio defendimur Histro'. Iuv. 16. 38 'sacrum effodit medio de limite saxum'. M. VI. 409 'qui locus est iuguli medius summique lacerti'. Sen. N. Q. II. 4. 1 'aer caelum terramque conectit, quia medius intervenit'. The Danube separated the Roman dominions from Scythia. Sen. N. Q. I. prol. 8 'Danuuius Sarmatica ac Romana disterminet'.

193. **tibi**: dative of agent, common in poetry and especially in Ovid, as I. 7. 32 'non fastiditus si tibi, lector, ero'.

causa . . . graviore: V. 8. 37 'utque ego te videam causa graviore fugatum'.

This passage is an example of the effect upon Ovid of his rhetorical training. The introduction of descriptions of locality and scenery, as here, or of other objects was a recognized rhetorical artifice. Theo Progymn. Rhet. Graec. II, Spengel, p. 118 *ἔκφρασις ἐστὶ λόγος περιηγηματικὸς ἐναργῶς ὑπ' ὄψιν ἄγων τὸ δηλούμενον. γίνεται δ' ἔκφρασις προσώπων τε καὶ πραγμάτων καὶ τόπων καὶ χρόνων.* The frequent descriptions of the horrors of his place of banishment derive their inspiration from this source. Brück, de Ovidio scholasticarum declamationum imitatore (Giessen, 1909), p. 28.

196. **adstricto**, 'congealed'. P. III. 3. 26 'coit adstrictis barbarus Hister aquis'.

197. **Euxini . . . Sinistri**. The expressions 'Pontus Sinister' I. 8. 39. P. I. 4. 31, 'Pontus Laevus' I. 2. 83. P. IV. 9. 119, 'Euxinus Sinister' here, with which cp. IV. 8. 42 'Euxini terra sinistra', P. II. 2. 2 'Euxini sinistra', and T. IV. 1. 60 'Euxini litora laeva', IV. 10. 97 'maris Euxini ad laeva', represent the official designation of the western coast of the Euxine under Roman dominion, which is on the left to one entering the Black Sea and sailing northwards. This district contained many small Greek settlements, of which Tomis was the metropolis of those near the Danube: cp. P. IV. 9. 104. Ehwald, Krit. Beiträge, p. 60, refers to Pick, Die antiken Münzen Nordgriechenlands, I. 68 foll. The Greek terms were *ὁ Εὐώνυμος Πόντος* or *τὰ Ἀριστερὰ τοῦ Πόντου*.

198. **Bastarnae**: a tribe of German invaders who settled in Galicia, some of whom moved down to the Danube, and established themselves in its delta in the island Peuce; Minns, Scythians and Greeks, p. 124; Tac. A. II. 65. Germ. 46 'Peucini, quos quidam Bastarnas vocant'; and in the Dnieper basin, Rostovtzeff, Iranians and Greeks in South Russia, p. 116.

The **Sauromatae**, who lived on the lower Don and shores of the sea of Azov, are by Ovid (so III. 3. 6; 10. 5; 12. 30. IV. 1. 94. V. 1. 74. P. I. 2. 77. II. 2. 93. III. 2. 37), as by many Greek and Roman writers, wrongly identified with the Sarmatae, a totally different Iranian race, nomads like the Scythians, who moved from Central Asia into the Southern Russian Steppes between the Dnieper and Danube, Rostovtzeff, l. c., p. 113 foll. In Tac. Germ. 1. 1 and 46. 1 they are spoken of as eastern neighbours of the Germans. These two peoples are mentioned together in Mon. Ancyr. 31. 51 'nostram amicitiam petierunt per legatos Bastarnas Scythaeque et Sarmatarum qui sunt citra flumen Tanaim'.

199. **Ausonio**: Italian.

novissima: most remote. III. 13. 27 'dum me terrarum pars paene novissima, Pontus, Euxinus falso nomine dictus, habet'. V. 2. 31

'barbara me tellus orbisque novissima magni sustinet'. Tac. Agric. 10. 5 'oram novissimi maris'. So probably Catull. 4. 23 'cum veniret a mari novissimo (novissime MSS.) hunc ad usque limpidum lacum'.

200. **haeret in margine** is attached to the frontier. F. II. 263 'haerebit in arbore ficus'. M. X. 55 'nec procul afuerunt telluris margine summae'. The province of Moesia, in which Tomis lay, received its first imperial governor in A.D. 6 (Marquardt, Staatsv. I. 302): hence Ovid, writing about three years afterwards, speaks of the frontier of the new province as insecure.

202. **dempta**, the reading of two MSS. of Heinsius, preferred by him and by Bentley (Wordsworth, Correspondence of Bentley, II. 602), and accepted by Burman and Oberlin, is convincingly supported by Hilberg, p. 10, in preference to **adempta** the reading of all other MSS. and editors, because the harsh elision, such as Ovid avoided, in the second half of the pentameter is thus removed. If Ovid had wished to use 'adempta' he would have written 'pax quoque cum patria ne sit adempta mihi': cp. P. I. 2. 14 'tamquam cum patria pax sit adempta mihi'. Ovid elsewhere uses the same form for the same reason: F. I. 326 'una sit ut proprio littera dempta loco'. P. I. 8. 74 'detur: erit nostris pars bona dempta malis'. P. II. 9. 78 'qui nisi natalem nil mihi dempsit humum'. There he does not write 'adempta' or 'ademit'. The instances of elision in the second half of the pentameter are collected by Hilberg, p. 7 foll. Cp. 226 n.

203. **non bene summovet**: supr. 192 'vix prohibentur aquis'. Wild hostile tribes were kept off by the Danube in summer, but in winter could cross its frozen surface and ravage the district of Tomis. III. 10. 7 foll. and 53 foll.

204. **possim**: 80 n.

205. **Latio** poetic for 'Romano', as often: so IV. 4. 6. A. A. I. 414.

206. **Caesaribus** Augustus and the princes of his house, his adopted son Tiberius (165), and his grandsons, Drusus the son and Germanicus the adopted son of Tiberius (167).

For **salvis**, 'uninjured', i. e. still alive, cp. P. II. 3. 98 'precabor ut tibi sit salvo Caesare salva parens'.

207. **crimina**. This word means either a charge or a wrong act constituting the foundation for a charge.

208. **facti culpa**: i. q. factum culpandum.

209. **tanti**, 'worth the cost': the price to be paid is defined by the clause introduced by 'ut', as H. 7. 45 'non ego sum tanti ... ut pereas'. Am. I. 10. 49 'non fuit armillas tanti pepigisse Sabinas, ut premerent sacrae virginis arma caput'. M. X. 618 'tanti putat conubia nostra ut pereat'. Prop. III. 20. 4 'tantine, ut lacrimes, Africa tota fuit?' The expression, common in Ovid, is generally, as here, negative, though not always. The clause defining the price is often omitted, as H. 1. 4.

vulnera: wounds to the feelings, affronts, injuries. P. II. 2. 57 'vulneris id genus est quod, cum sanabile non sit, non contrectari tutius esse puto'. Verg. Aen. I. 36 'aeternum servans sub pectore vulnus'. XII. 160 'tristi turbatam vulnere mentis'. Plin. Ep. V. 16. 7 'quantum animo vulnus acceperim'.

210. **nimio plus**, 'by far too much', quite too much. **nimio**, abl. of measure, equivalent to the weaker 'multo', Plaut. Mil. 587. The use of the stronger for the weaker word is due to colloquial language. This expression is found in Plaut. Bacch. 122 'quem ego sapere nimio censui plus quam Thalem'. Most. 1103. Lucr. V. 988. Cic. Att. X. 8. A. 1. Liv. I. 2. 3. II. 37. 4. XXVIII. 25. 14; 'plus nimio' in

Hor. Carm. I. 18. 15; 33. 1. Ep. I. 10. 30. So 'nimio minus' Plaut. Bacch. 672. Truc. 673; 'satius' Bacch. 151; 'citius' Trin. 387; 'melius' Pers. 111; 'celerius' Most. 72. Also with adjectives 'nimio exspectatior' Most. 442; 'nequior' ibid. 145; 'docilior' Bacch. 164; 'maior' Lucr. V. 564. Liv. XXIX. 33. 4; 'plures' Liv. XXXIX. 40. 9.

211. Having refused to discuss his **error** (207), the second part of the offence charged against him (**alterius facti** 208), because it touched too nearly the honour of the imperial house, he proceeds to the first part, the composition of the Ars Amatoria, and suggests that the emperor could not have found leisure from his political labours to read that work, since, if he had done so, he would have found that it contained nothing really wrong (240).

factus: converted into. P. II. 3. 71 'et quod eras aliis factus, mihi natus amicus'. IV. 2. 22 'esset, crede mihi, factus et ille Getes'. So in the Metamorphoses of bodies transformed, as II. 485 'facta quoque mansit in ursa'.

213. **fas**: it is possible. III. 12. 41 'fas quoque ab ore freti longaeque Propontidos undis huc aliquem certo vela dedisse Noto'. F. I. 329 'fas etiam, fieri solitis aetate priorum nomina de ludis Graeca tulisse diem'. Verg. Aen. VII. 692 'quem neque fas igni cuiquam nec sternere ferro'. Cp. Hor. Carm. I. 24. 19 'levius fit patientia quidquid corrigere est nefas'.

ergo, like the Greek ἄρα, introduces a conclusion forced on the writer to his surprise. III. 2. 1 'ergo erat in fatis Scythiam quoque visere nostris'. Hor. Carm. I. 24. 5 'ergo Quintilium perpetuus sopor urget!'

214. **notitia ... minora tua**: i.e. 'minora quam ut in notitiam tuam perveniant'. H. 12. 184 'nunc animis audi verba minora meis'. M. VI. 367 'nec dicere sustinet ultra verba minora dea'. P. II. 6. 6 'mala me meritis ferre minora doces'. Prop. IV. 9. 32 'iacit ante fores verba minora deo'.

215. **tuenti**, 'who watches over', practically equivalent to 'regenti'. F. I. 529 'tempus erit, cum vos orbemque tuebitur idem'. Neither Jupiter, the lord of Heaven, nor Augustus, the lord of earth, has leisure to attend to trifles. Divine power on earth is often attributed to Augustus: supr. 54. IV. 4. 19–20. Leopold, Exulum Trias, p. 213 foll.

217. **de** constructed with **pendentem**, as Am. I. 10. 55 'carpite de plenis pendentes vitibus uvas'. F. II. 760 'deque viri collo dulce pependit onus'.

219. **scilicet**: ironical.

inperii statione: military metaphor; 'post of government'. Tac. Dial. 17 'sextam iam felicis huius principatus stationem'.

220. **inparibus ... modis**: 331 n. Metre with lines of unequal length, elegiac couplets.

221. **ea ... ut**, 'such that'. I. 9. 37 'is status, haec rerum nunc est fortuna mearum, debeat ut lacrimis nullus adesse modus'. Liv. VIII. 13. 2 'is status erat rerum, ut neque bellum neque pacem pati possent'. **ea**, i.q. 'talis', equivalent to 'tam levis', is constructed with the following **ut**. The two negative clauses are connected by **-que** (222), for which 'neque' would be more usual But **-que** is disjunctive, as inf. 244 n.

moles, 'burden'. M. XV. 1 'quaeritur interea quis tantae pondera molis sustineat tantoque queat succedere regi'. Cp. P. I. 2. 73 'magna tenent illud numen molimina rerum'.

Romani nominis: 156 n.

223. **lusibus**: poems of a playful nature, love poems. The word

occurs here only in this sense in Ovid. It is thus applied to epigrams by Martial, IV. 49. 1 'nescit, crede mihi, quid sint epigrammata, Flacce, qui tantum lusus illa iocosque vocat'. Elsewhere in Ovid it means (1) gaieties, jests, I. 8. 31. P. I. 4. 4; 9. 9: (2) sports, M. VIII. 199; XIV. 556; F. II. 368, games of chance, inf. 483: (3) amours, Am. II. 3. 13; H. 15. 21. But he uses 'ludere' of writing trifling poetry inf. 491, and of writing love poetry I. 9. 61 'scis vetus hoc iuveni lusum mihi carmen', V. 1. 7 'integer et laetus laeta et iuvenalia lusi'. So 'lusor' IV. 10. 1 'ille ego qui fuerim, tenerorum lusor amorum'.

advertere numen, 'to direct your divinity', stands for 'to direct your divine attention to'. So in Verg. Aen. IV. 611 'accipite haec meritumque malis advertite numen' means 'to direct your divinity deservedly to these ills', i.e. with a view to vengeance. Bentley and others preferred **lumen** 'your gaze', the reading of the Copenhagen and a few other MSS., arguing that **advertere numen** means 'to be propitious', in favour of which A. A. 1. 203 'Marsque pater Caesarque pater, date numen eunti' might be quoted. But the singular **lumen** is harsh: the plural rather is required, as in M. VI. 180 'in quamcumque domus adverti lumina partem'. Cp. VIII. 482 'sacris vultus advertite vestros'.

224. **otia nostra**: works written in my leisure. I. 7. 25 'ut non ignava legentem otia delectent admoneantque mei'.

225–32. In these lines Ovid reviews the wars by which under Augustus the frontiers of the empire were secured. The dates range from 20 B.C. to A.D. 10, a considerable period, during which the emperor had felt the anxiety of war, and successfully confronted its shocks (232 **pars nulla est, quae labet, inperii**).

225. **Pannonia** comprised part of Austria and Western Hungary, extending along the Danube from Vienna to Belgrade. It was formed into a separate province probably in A.D. 10.

Illyris ora. The district of Illyricum, consisting of the Adriatic coastland and the inland of Dalmatia, originally a senatorial, became an imperial province under Augustus in 11 B.C. From the Flavian period onwards it was usually termed Dalmatia instead of Illyricum.

The campaigns referred to are (1) the first Illyrian war, 13–10 B.C., conducted first by Agrippa, afterwards on his death (12–10 B.C.) by Tiberius. By it the revolt of the Pannonian and Dalmatian tribes was crushed: (2) the second Illyrian war, A.D. 6–9, conducted by Tiberius accompanied by Germanicus, which resulted in the reduction of the Pannonians in A.D. 8, and the Dalmatians under Bato in A.D. 9. Mommsen, Provinces, E. Tr. I. 38, supra 171 n.

226. **Raetica.** The province of Raetia comprehended Eastern Switzerland with the Tyrol and Bavaria. It was constituted an imperial province about 15 B.C. after the stepsons of Augustus, Drusus and Tiberius, had defeated and reduced to subjection the troublesome tribes of Raeti and Vindelici. Hor. Carm. IV. 14. 6 'maxime principum, quem legis expertes Latinae Vindelici didicere nuper, quid Marte posses. milite nam tuo Drusus Genaunos, inplacidum genus, Breunosque veloces et arces Alpibus inpositas tremendis deiecit acer plus vice simplici; maior Neronum (Tiberius) mox grave proelium conmisit inmanisque Raetos auspiciis pepulit secundis'.

Thracia. Thrace, which comprised a part of the Balkans reaching to the coast of the Black Sea, was partly controlled by the governor of Macedonia and partly under independent princes. A dangerous insurrection in Thrace was suppressed by L. Piso in 11 B.C. Gardthausen, Augustus u. s. Zeit, I. 1055.

The elision of -que in the second half of the pentameter, though uncommon, is permissible. Instances of elision of a short syllable in this position are collected by Hilberg, p. 7, who maintains that Ovid never admits such elision where he could have avoided it by altering the order of the words.

227. **Armenius.** In 20 B.C. Augustus went in person to Syria. The effect of his presence in the neighbouring Armenia was that the king Artaxias was murdered by insurgents, and his younger brother Tigranes, who had been brought up at the Court in Rome, was by their request sent thither to succeed him. Tiberius entered Armenia with an army, and, as Augustus' representative, placed him on the throne. Armenia thus became virtually a vassal state. Tac. A. II. 3. Mon. Ancyr. 27. 24 'Armeniam maiorem interfecto rege eius Artaxe cum possem facere provinciam, malui maiorum nostrorum exemplo regnum id Tigrani regis Artavasdis filio, nepoti autem Tigranis regis, per Ti. Neronem tradere, qui tum mihi privignus erat'. The statement of Augustus that he might have made Armenia into a province is magnified into a conquest by Ovid (**petit pacem**), as by Hor. Ep. I. 12. 26 'Claudi virtute Neronis Armenius cecidit: ius imperiumque Phraates Caesaris accepit genibus minor', and Vellei. II. 94. 4 (Tiberius) 'ingressus Armeniam, redacta ea in potestatem populi Romani regnum eius Artavasdi dedit'. (Later, in 1 B.C., Gaius Caesar, the grandson of Augustus, was sent to Armenia and placed Ariobarzanes on the throne. Tac. A. II. 4.)

The near presence of Augustus also inspired fear into Phraates, King of Parthia, who restored the Roman standards that had been captured (**capta signa**) from Crassus at Carrhae in 53 B.C., and those taken from Decidius Saxa in 40 B.C., and from Oppius Statianus in 36 B.C. Mon. Anc. 29. 40 'Parthos trium exercituum Romanorum spolia et signa reddere mihi supplicesque amicitiam populi Romani petere coegi'. Suet. Aug. 21. This bloodless victory was magnified into a great military exploit by the poets, Verg. Aen. VII. 606. Hor. Carm. IV. 5. 25; 15. 6. Prop. IV. 6. 79. Ov. F. V. 585 foll.

porrigit arcus: the surrender of their bows, the weapon on which they specially prided themselves, is introduced as a token of the subjection of the Parthians: so F. V. 593 'Parthe, refers aquilas, victos quoque porrigis arcus'.

229. **prole tua**: Tiberius; for though his brother Drusus had conducted campaigns in Germany, 12–9 B.C., and penetrated as far as the Elbe, he was never adopted, as was his brother Tiberius, by Augustus. Tiberius made war on the Germans 9–7 B.C. and A.D. 4–5, of which latter campaign Velleius says II. 97. 4 (Tiberius) 'peragratus victor omnis partis Germaniae sine ullo detrimento commissi exercitus . . . sic perdomuit eam, ut in formam paene stipendiariae redigeret provinciae'. Cp. F. I. 645. Tiberius made a final expedition into Germany in A.D. 10, to arrange the defeat of Varus; but chronology makes it impossible that Ovid should here refer to that: supr. 171 n. This last expedition is alluded to in T. III. 12. 47, and in T. IV. 2 Ovid prophesies for Tiberius a victory over the Germans.

230. **Caesar**: Tiberius, who after his adoption was styled 'Tiberius Caesar, Augusti f., Divi nepos'. Furneaux, Tac. Ann. I. 148.

obit: is engaged in. Liv. IV. 7. 2 'quia duo consules obire tot simul bella nequirent'. Lucr. IV. 967 'induperatores pugnare ac proelia obire'. Verg. Aen. VI. 167 'et lituo pugnas insignis obibat et hasta'.

231–4. While the stability of the vast empire is secured and the frontiers protected by energetic military operations, the emperor

moreover (**denique** introduces a concluding consideration) is unflagging in the care of domestic government, and in legislation (**legum**) and social reforms (**morum**). The same thought is expressed by Hor. Ep. II. 1. 1 'cum tot sustineas et tanta negotia solus, res Italas armis tuteris, moribus ornes, legibus emendes'.

232. **corpore**: the united body of the organized empire. M. I. 185 'illud ab uno corpore (organization) et ex una pendebat origine bellum'. Cic. Off. I. 85 'totum corpus reipublicae'. Verg. Aen. XI. 313 'toto certatum est corpore regni'. Tac. H. I. 16 'si inmensum inperii corpus stare ac librari sine rectore posset'. Iuv. 16. 53 'in corpore census' (the total of the rateable property).

labet is unstable, unsafe. M. XV. 437 'cum res Troiana labaret'. The enumeration (225–30) of the dangerous wars in which Augustus was involved has led Rappold (Zeitsch. f. d. Österr. Gymn. XI. 813) to conjecture **pars multa est, quae labet**, and Housman, and Goldbacher, Wiener Studien, XXVI. 276 **pars nulla est, quin labet**: i. e. there is insecurity on all our frontiers. But Ovid, whose object was to compliment the emperor, would not have been likely to insert the remark that under his rule the frontiers were insecure. That is directly contradictory to his purpose, which was to emphasize the firm government of Augustus. See Mon. Anc. 26. 9 'omnium provinciarum populi Romani, quibus finitimae fuerunt gentes quae non parerent inperio nostro, fines auxi'; after which follows a list of his campaigns. Cp. Hor. Carm. IV. 14. 41 'te Cantaber non ante domabilis Medusque et Indus, te profugus Scythes miratur, o tutela praesens Italiae dominaeque Romae'.

234. **morum** refers to the measures by which Augustus endeavoured to reform the public morals, such as his sumptuary law restricting extravagance, Gell. II. 24. 14, his enactments enforcing decency at public spectacles and regulating the theatres, Suet. Aug. 31. 4 and 44, and especially his enactments regarding marriage: Suet. Aug. 34 'leges retractavit et quasdam ex integro sanxit, ut sumptuariam et de adulteriis et de pudicitia, de ambitu, de maritandis ordinibus'. His efforts in this direction seem to have begun in his sixth consulship 28 B. C., Tac. A. III. 28. 3, but to have met with such resistance that he was forced to withdraw or modify his proposals. Thus Propertius, writing in or about 27 B.C., expresses his joy at the withdrawal of some such contemplated law, which would have affected his relations with Cynthia, II. 7. 1. Mommsen, Strafrecht, p. 691. The two chief measures which Augustus enacted were both passed in 18 B. C., (1) the Lex de adulteriis whose object was to check licentiousness, alluded to by Hor. Carm. IV. 5. 21 'nullis polluitur casta domus stupris, mos et lex maculosum edomuit nefas, laudantur simili prole puerperae, culpam poena premit comes': (2) the Lex de maritandis ordinibus, whose object was the encouragement of marriage, alluded to by Hor. Carm. Saec. 17 'diva, producas subolem patrumque prosperes decreta super iugandis feminis prolisque novae feraci lege marita'. This latter law was supplemented by a more comprehensive measure in A. D. 9, the Lex Papia Poppaea. The object of this legislation was to increase the population by encouraging marriage in all the orders and regulating divorce; privileges were conceded to the parents of at least three children and penalties were enforced on celibacy. Though Ovid, writing about A. D. 10, may not have actually heard of the passing of the Lex Papia Poppaea, he no doubt knew that it was impending. See Pelham, Essays, p. 114 foll.

similes tuis: Augustus set an example of simplicity in his private life. Suet. Aug. 76–8. He did not keep for his own use, but pulled down the magnificent house bequeathed to him by Vedius Pollio on the Esquiline, in order that a temple to Concordia might be erected on its site, on which Ovid remarks, F. VI. 647 'sic agitur censura et sic exempla parantur, cum vindex, alios quod monet, ipse facit'.

236. **inrequieta**: unresting, unceasing. M. II. 386 (of the function of the sun) 'sors mea principiis fuit inrequieta'. V. 443. XIII. 730. See 542 n.

The proposition that the emperor himself does not enjoy the peace which he ensures to the peoples under his rule is developed more definitely in the pentameter by the statement that he is engaged in ceaseless wars with many (**multis**) tribes, such as those enumerated above, 225 foll. Consequently there is no need for the conjecture **cum vitiis** proposed by Withof and Bentley, who considered that domestic conflict against immorality was intended. Sen. Ep. 51. 6 'nobis quoque militandum est: . . . debellandae sunt in primis voluptates'. ibid. 13 'sed satis diu cum Baiis litigavimus, numquam satis cum vitiis'. See Hor. Carm. IV. 15. 9 'ordinem rectum evaganti frena licentiae iniecit emovitque culpas'.

237. **in**: in the midst of. M. VIII. 832 'inque epulis epulas quaerit'. XV. 400 'finitque in odoribus aevum'.

pondere rerum: Mart. VI. 64. 14 'tanto dominus sub pondere rerum'. Lucan VII. 686 'iam pondere fati deposito securus abis'.

238. **evoluisse**: diaeresis, as H. 12. 4: so IV. 8. 18 'dissoluantur'. The word means 'read', because the papyrus roll was unrolled in the process: inf. 307.

239. **quod mallem**: M. XII. 546 'quod mallem posse negare'. XIII. 862 'ille tamen placeatque sibi placeatque licebit, quod nollem, Galatea, tibi'. Ibis 143 'sive ego, quod nolim'.

vacuum tibi forte fuisset, preserved by Γ, is preferable to **vacuum fortasse fuisset** L because **tibi** is required by the context. The reading of many MSS. **vacuus fortasse fuisses**, which is accepted by many editors, is impossible because it involves a solecism, since **fortasse** is not joined with **si** in classical Latin. In Cic. ad Brut. I. 15. 3 editors now read 'tu hoc: alius fortasse, quod in animadversione poenaque durior, nisi forte (fortasse codd.) utrumque tu'. See Kühner, L. Gr. II. 1. 813.

vacuum: impersonal. Sall. Hist. ap. Gell. N. A. IX. 12. 15 'postquam remoto metu Punico simultates exercere vacuum fuit'. Tac. Hist. II. 38 'ubi . . . securas opes concupiscere vacuum fuit'.

241. **quidem**: concessive.

frontis: the seat of modesty stands for modesty. Phaedr. IV. 7. 4 'severitatem frontis dum placo tuae'. Pers. 5. 103 'exclamet Melicerta perisse frontem de rebus'. Cp. 309 'supercilii . . . severi'.

243. **legum contraria iussis** in conflict with the moral enactments of Augustus (234 n.), as teaching adultery (212 and 346).

244. **erudiuntque**: here **que** is disjunctive: so IV. 1. 65 'utque neque insidias capitisque pericula narrem'. H. 2. 89 'sed neque consului, nec te mea regia tanget fessaque Bistonia membra levabis aqua'. 7. 81 'neque enim tua fallere lingua incipit a nobis, primaque plector ego'. Verg. Geor. II. 312 'non a stirpe valent caesaeque reverti possunt'. Hor. Ep. I. 8. 4 'haud quia grando contuderit vites oleamque momorderit aestus'. The conjecture of Heinsius **erudiuntve** is unnecessary.

nurus: from its restricted proper meaning 'daughter-in-law' this word often passes into the extended sense of 'bride' or, as here, 'young woman'. H. 8. 12 'si raperet Graias barbara turba nurus'. A. A. III. 248 'inque nurus Parthas dedecus illud eat'. M. II. 366 'nuribus gestanda Latinis'. Iuv. 1. 77 'nurus corruptor avarae'. This extension is common in Vulgar Latin, just as 'parens' came to be used for a 'relative'. Grandgent, Vulgar Latin, § 10.

Bentley (Correspondence, ed. Wordsworth, p. 603) proposed to omit this couplet (243–4), as without it a coherent sense is obtained :—So far is my Ars from being intended for your perusal (242) that it is not even intended for that of married women (245–8). But if the couplet be retained the sense is equally satisfactory :—Though my Ars is not designed for the grave ear of the emperor, its purpose is not to corrupt our honest Roman women (**Romanas** is emphatic): as is stated at the outset, it is intended not for modest matrons, but for the gay world of intrigue.

245. **possis dubitare**: 80 n.

(libellus) unus: the first book of the Ars Amatoria.

247–50 quoted from A. A. I. 31–4. The quotation is inexact: for **nil nisi legitimum** the text of the Ars Amatoria has **nos Venerem tutam**, which is given here also by a few MSS. of the Tristia, interpolated no doubt from the Ars Amatoria. In the Tristia the variation **nil nisi legitimum** is not due to lapse of memory or neglect to verify the quotation, a frequent source of error in ancient writers, but is intentional, since Ovid's purpose here is to show that he had not transgressed the law (supr. 243): **legitimum**, i.q. legibus non vetitum, is further explained by **concessaque furta**.

The purpose of the Ars Amatoria, which was intended for 'libertinae' of easy virtue, is similarly stated A. A. III. 27 'nil nisi lascivi per me discuntur amores'. II. 599 'en, iterum testor: nihil hic nisi lege remissum luditur: in nostris instita nulla iocis'. Cp. P. III. 3. 47 'dum damus arma tibi, dum te, lascive, docemus, haec te discipulo dona magister habet. scis tamen, et liquido iuratus dicere possis, non me legitimos sollicitasse toros. scripsimus haec illis, quarum nec vitta pudicos contingit crines nec stola longa pedes'.

247. The **vittae** were bands passing across the forehead, with which the hair of freeborn Roman women (ingenuae) was confined. Marquardt, Privatl. 46, Dict. A. ii. 975. They were not worn by 'libertinae'. Tibull. I. 6. 67 'sit modo casta, doce, quamvis non vitta ligatos inpediat crines nec stola longa pedes'. F. IV. 133 'matresque nurusque et vos, quis vittae longaque vestis abest'. Cp. Rem. 386 'nil mihi cum vitta: Thais in arte mea est'.

The **vitta** was the mark of honest women (**insigne pudoris**), who are warned against reading the Ars Amatoria, cp. inf. 303. So Priap. 8. 1 'matronae procul hinc abite castae: turpe est vos legere inpudica verba'.

248. The **instita** was a strip of material forming a narrow border sewn on to the bottom of the stola, the garment worn by Roman matrons, which corresponded to the tunica of men, and reached almost to the ground (**quae tegis medios pedes**): Hor. Sat. I. 2. 99 'ad talos stola demissa'; ibid. 29 'quarum subsuta talos tegat instita veste'. F. IV. 134 'et vos, quis vittae longaque vestis abest'. A. A. II. 600 'in nostris instita nulla iocis'.

medios . . . pedes: M. XII. 396 'ex umeris medios coma dependebat in armos'.

249. **furta**: clandestine loves, intrigues; frequent in this sense. Catull. 68. 140 'noscens omnivoli plurima furta Iovis'. M. I. 606 'deprensi totiens iam nosset furta mariti'. So inf. 347, 432, 440, 461.

250. **crimen**: adulterium.

251. **ecquid** is used (1) as here, as a mere interrogative particle introducing a passionate question ('Have I not banished?' i.e. 'Surely I have banished') to which an affirmative answer is expected. So III. 3. 47 'ecquid, ubi audieris, tota turbabere mente, et feries pavida pectora fida manu? ecquid, in has frustra tendens tua brachia partes, clamabis miseri nomen inane viri?' V. 2. 1 'ecquid, ubi e Ponto nova venit epistula, palles?' Liv. III. 11. 12. IV. 3. 8. In these cases it is equivalent to 'nonne'. (2) Sometimes the affirmative answer is not so clearly suggested, though it is evidently desired. T. III. 7. 11 '"tu quoque" dic "studiis communibus ecquid inhaeres?"' 'do you at all . . .?' P. III. 5. 39 'ecquid, ubi aut recitas factum modo carmen amicis, aut, quod saepe soles, exigis ut recitent, quaeror?' M. XII. 588 foll. (3) Sometimes it is made clear that an affirmative answer is expected. T. IV. 3. 21 'ecquid, ubi incubuit iusto mens aegra dolori, lenis ab admonito pectore somnus abit?' The answer to the question is obvious from l. 27 'non equidem dubito, quin haec et cetera fiant'. So P. I. 6. 1 'ecquid, ut audisti (nam te diversa tenebat terra) meos casus, cor tibi triste fuit? dissimules metuasque licet, Graecine, fateri, si bene te novi, triste fuisse liquet'. (4) Sometimes it is used in a double question 'ecquid . . . an' = 'utrum . . . an'. H. 15. 1–4. M. VIII. 133 foll. P. II. 10. 1–5. (5) Sometimes in an oblique question, equivalent to 'num'. P. II. 9. 75 'ecquid praeterea peccarim, quaerere noli'. III. 5. 37. See Kühner, II. 1. 657.

rigide: inflexibly. P. III. 3. 55 'an sit ab his omnis rigide summota libellis, quam lex furtivos arcet habere viros?'

summovimus: exclude, inf. 304. V. 2. 44 'nullas summovet ara manus'. The word is often used by Ovid of his own banishment: III. 4. 41. IV. 2. 57; 9. 17. P. III. 4. 91. IV. 16. 47.

252. **contingi**: euphemistic. Hor. Sat. I. 2. 28 'sunt qui nolint tetigisse nisi illas quarum subsuta talos tegat instita veste'. ib. 54 'matronam nullam ego tango'. Plaut. Amph. 833 'iuro ut mi extra unum te mortalis nemo corpus corpore contigit, quo me inpudicam faceret'. Phaedr. Appendix, 15. 4. Mart. I. 73. 1. Hence the expression 'virgo intacta' Verg. Aen. I. 345.

sumpta: placed for emphasis after **vitta**. See 62 n.

253–76. My critics object to my Art of love because the married woman can avail herself of the artifices contained in it, which are intended for others (**alienis**), viz. 'libertinae' (247), and she finds in it means provided ready to her hand by which she can allure (**quo trahat**) lovers, though the lessons of my poem are not expressly addressed to her. To this the poet answers: 'Even the greatest poems contain suggestive matter, and may be perversely misapplied, since good things are often turned to evil uses. If my poem be read in an innocent spirit, it will do no harm: since to the pure all things are pure.'

253. **at**, here and in 277, 313, introduces the three criticisms of Ovid's detractors, which he answers.

254. **quoque trahat**, 'the means by which she can attract'. So L and most MSS. 'Trahere' is thus used of the woman attracting the man, A. A. III. 421 'se quoque det populo mulier speciosa videndam: quem trahat, e multis forsitan unus erit'. Prop. I. 2. 19 'nec

Phrygium falso traxit candore maritum avecta externis Hippodamia rotis'. Cp. inf. 325, 326. P. I. 5. 50. M. VIII. 224.

Loers, Merkel, Güthling, and Ehwald follow Bersmann in accepting the reading **quodque trahat** found in a few MSS., and explain **trahat** in the medical sense of contracting infection: 'she finds in your poems corruption that she can contract'. So V. 13. 3 'aeger enim traxi contagia corpore mentis'. P. III. 2. 13 'quis non e timidis aegri contagia vitat, vicinum metuens ne trahat inde malum'. Plin. N. H. XXXII. 121 'ferro infici vitiumque trahere'. In P. II. 3. 22 'quo magis admiror . . . communis vitii te quoque labe trahi' the passive is thus used, whence it appears that 'traho' active might mean not to contract infection, be infected by, but to infect: and **quod trahat** might mean 'a victim whom she can corrupt'. Ovid often uses the neuter of the object of affection: Am. II. 5. 9 'felix qui, quod amat, defendere fortiter audet'. A. A. I. 35 'quod amare velis'; ibid. 91, 175, 263. II. 481.

Ehwald, Synt. II. 19, argues in support of **quod trahat** that Ovid's critics did not reproach him because matrons, even if not taught, still knew to what use they could apply his Ars, but because, even if it was not composed expressly for them, they might be infected by the poison of its immorality. But, besides that **quod trahat** has indifferent MS. support, **quo trahat** is equally applicable. The critics urged that matrons might read the Ars and avail themselves of devices not intended for them, and would derive from it artifices of allurement, though its lessons were not directed to them. The pentameter repeats the gist of the hexameter: **alienis** corresponds to **quamvis non doceatur**, and **artibus** the artifices corresponds to **quo trahat** the means of allurement. Némethy's explanation of **quod trahat** 'ad se referat' is improbable.

256. **delinquendum**: infidelity, in the erotic sense. Am. II. 8. 9 'in ancilla siquis delinquere possit'. So 'delicta' Prop. II. 4. 1. 'Peccare' is more common in this sense: Am. II. 5. 3. Tibull. IV. 14. 1. Prop. II. 19. 10.

257. **sinistri**: perversity, depravity. Phaedr. II, epilog. 16 'sinistra quos in lucem natura extulit nec quicquam possunt nisi meliores carpere'. Verg. Aen. XI. 347 'ob auspicium infaustum moresque sinistros'.

258. **inde**: from it.

259. **Annales**, 'chronicles', in which events were related in the order in which they occurred year by year, as distinguished from artistic history, in which they were systematically set forth in the light of their causes and general principles. Gell. V. 18. 8.

The **Annales** in question are not prose chronicles, neither (1) as Burman supposed, the 'annales maximi pontificum' (Cic. de Or. II. 52) the chronicle drawn up annually by the pontifex maximus, which contained a meagre list of the chief events, names of consuls, campaigns, eclipses, portents, prices of corn, &c., nor (2), as Pontanus suggested, the prose chronicles of the annalists, of whom the earlier wrote in Greek, Fabius Pictor, Cincius Alimentus, Postumius Albinus, and C. Acilius, the later in Latin, Cato (Origines), Cassius Hemina, Scribonius Libo, Fabius Maximus Servilianus, Calpurnius Piso, Sempronius Tuditanus, Pomponius Atticus. All these probably treated the first beginnings of Roman history, and may have told the legend of Ilia; but the context indicates that the **Annales** spoken of were written in verse, 255 **carmine ab omni**, 264 **carminis omne genus**.

As Ovid does not name the author, it has been suggested that he may have intended collectively the poetical **Annales** of Ennius, Accius, and Furius of Antium. But of these the work of Accius appears to have been not historical, but an account of the months and festivals of the year (Schanz, Röm. Litt. I. 1, p. 181 ; Leo, Röm. Litt. p. 391), while of that of Furius we know hardly anything. Since inf. 423–6 Ennius, as here, is again joined with Lucretius, the conclusion is irresistible that it is his **Annales** which is here referred to, the great hexameter epic in which he recounted the story of Rome from the arrival of Aeneas to his own time. So Vahlen, Ennianae poesis reliquiae, ed. 2, p. lxi.

hirsutius, used metaphorically, does not mean (1) harsh in style, with reference to the lack of artistic finish which Augustan and imperial writers attributed to Ennius, who is called 'arte rudis', inf. 424. So Patin, Études sur la Poésie latine, II. 21. Plessis, Poésie latine, p. 23. Teuffel, Röm. Lit. 104. 1 : but (2) hard, in its subject, unsentimental, rugged. The same adjective is applied to the savage warlike Getae, P. I. 5. 74. III. 5. 6, and to the barbarous prehistoric 'coloni', Am. III. 10. 7. Cp. Mart. VII. 58. 7 'quaere aliquem Curios semper Fabiosque loquentem, hirsutum et dura rusticitate trucem'. Hairs on the person ought to imply manliness : so Iuv. 2. 41 'hirsuto spirant opobalsama collo', cp. ib. 11 'hispida membra quidem et durae per bracchia saetae promittunt atrocem animum'. This meaning is illustrated by Prop. IV. 1. 61 'Ennius hirsuta cingat sua dicta corona : mi folia ex hedera porrige, Bacche, tua'. Epic poetry is concerned with the rugged theme of war ; thus the crown worn by the epic poet Ennius is itself rugged, in contrast with the crown which Propertius claims for himself as a singer of love, a chaplet of ivy, the plant dear to Bacchus the gentle patron of elegiac poets (Trist. I. 7. 2. Prop. II. 5. 26). The contrast between epic and elegiac verse is denoted by the epithets 'durus' and 'mollis'. Prop. III. 1. 19 'mollia, Pegasides, date vestro serta poetae : non faciet capiti dura corona meo'. II. 1. 41 'nec mea conveniunt duro praecordia versu Caesaris in Phrygios condere nomen avos'.

260. **Ilia** in the Annals of Ennius, as before him in Naevius, was described as the daughter of Aeneas, Serv. (Daniel) Verg. Aen. I. 273 'Naevius et Ennius Aeneae ex filia nepotem Romulum conditorem urbis tradunt'. Serv. Aen. VI. 777. She became by Mars mother of Romulus and Remus ; the speech recounting her dream foreboding this event, and the appearance in a vision of her father Aeneas, who comforted her and foretold that her troubles would be ended by the kindly intervention of a river, is preserved by Cic. de Div. I. 20. 40 = Enn. Ann. I. 35 Vahlen. After the twins were born she was ordered by the King of Alba to be thrown into the Tiber ; but when she invoked the aid of Venus and the river-god, the Tiber stayed his waters and the babes were left on dry land, Enn. Ann. 52 foll. In Ennius' Annales she became the wife of the Tiber god, as in Horace, Carm. I. 2. 17. Porphyr. ad loc. Stat. Silv. II. 1. 100, in Ovid, Am. III. 6. 45. F. II. 598, following apparently Naevius, of the Anio. Her name appears as Ilia in Ov. Am. II. 14. 15. III. 6. 47 foll. F. II. 598. III. 233. IV. 54 ; and the metronymic Iliades is used of Romulus and Remus, Am. III. 4. 40. M. XIV. 781, 824. F. III. 62. T. IV. 3. 8. In F. II. 383, III. 11 and 45 she is called Silvia. With Ovid she is, however, not the daughter of Aeneas but of Numitor. This is the form of the legend in Liv. I. 3, where her name is given as Rea Silvia, and

there Numitor the brother of Amulius, by whom he is dethroned, is one of the line of Alban kings descended from Aeneas through his son Ascanius. In Verg. Aen. I. 274. VI. 778, and Horace, Carm. I. 2. 17. III. 9. 8. IV. 8. 22 her name is Ilia.

261. The construction is **sumpserit** (librum) ubi '**Aeneadum genetrix' prima est**: viz. Lucretius' De Rerum Natura, which begins I. 1 'Aeneadum genetrix, hominum divomque voluptas, alma Venus': where Lucretius probably had in mind Enn. Ann. I. 52 Vahlen 'te sale nata precor, Venus, et genetrix patris nostri'. The designation of the De Rerum Natura by its initial words is paralleled by that of the Aeneid by 'arma virumque' (cp. inf. 534). Mart. XIV. 185 'accipe facundi Culicem, studiose, Maronis, ne nucibus positis "arma virumque" legas'. So Vergil refers to Ec. 2 in Ec. 5. 86 'haec nos "formosum Corydon ardebat Alexin"' and Cicero to the De Senectute as 'O Tite, siquid' Att. XVI. 3. 1; 11. 3. On this common method of quotation see Jahn on Pers. I. 96.

262. **unde**: by whom. A. A. III. 86. Aphrodite was the mother of Aeneas by Anchises, Hom. Hymn. 5. 155 foll.

alma, derived from 'alo', is compared by Walde, s.v., with φυτάλμιος, an epithet of Zeus and Poseidon. It means 'nurturing', and is a standing epithet of Venus the giver of increase. Verg. Aen. I. 618. X. 332. Ov. F. IV. 90. M. XIV. 478. Hor. Carm. IV. 15. 31. It 'was not only familiar to poets, but seems to have passed into the language of the people'. Munro, Lucr. I. 1.

263. **persequar**. This verb means to recount or explain fully, and is often used of the persevering pursuit of a subject in all its details. Nägelsbach, Stilistik, § 108. Krebs-Schmalz, Antibarbarus, II. 376. So inf. 407. P. I. 8. 3 'neve roga quid agam. si persequar omnia, flebis'. P. I. 3. 83. M. VIII. 535. XII. 590. Cic. Fam. X. 7. 1 'publicis litteris omnia sum persecutus'. Planc. 56.

Bentley rejected the entire couplet (263–4) as an interpolation with the contemptuous remark 'et verba et sententia sunt ineptissima'. He is followed by Riese, Güthling, Némethy, and Ehwald in his text, who, however, has since altered his mind, Symb. II. 19.

As regards (1) the language ('verba'), exception has been taken (a) to **inferius**, as by Barth, Advers. p. 152, who calls the word 'plebeium', unworthy of Ovid's elevated style, and conjectures **interius**, i. e. 'profundius'; and (b) to **modo si** for 'si modo', an inversion not found elsewhere in Ovid.

But (a) though the comparative **inferius** elsewhere in Ovid is strictly local in meaning, M. II. 137 'altius egressus caelestia tecta cremabis, inferius terras'. II. 208. XII. 420; there is no reason to question its Latinity in the sense of 'a little lower down' in my work. It is suitable to the conversational epistolary style of the Tristia. The positive 'infra' 'lower down' in a tablet, papyrus roll, or work occurs in Cic. Fam. VI. 8. 3 'earum litterarum exemplum infra scriptum est'. Att. VIII. 6. 2. Sall. Cat. 34. 3. Spartian. Sever. 12. 9 'cum senatores infra scriptos occiderit'. Macrob. Sat. I. 24. 11: the comparative in Solin. 2 'quae praeterire, quam inferius exsequi, tutius duximus'. See Kühner, II. 2. 476.

Also (b) though the inversion **modo si** is not found elsewhere in Ovid it is classical, being found in Plaut. Amph. 646. Capt. 996 (in a wish). Prop. II. 17. 10 'nec, modo si sapias, quod minus esse velis'. In Tibull. I. 2. 71 the reading is doubtful. See Kühner, II. 2. 429.

As regards (2) the meaning ('sententia') the couplet is relevant. Ovid having mentioned two books which might suggest evil to matrons (259–62), says that he will return to this subject lower down and develop it with examples showing that evil may be done by every kind of poetry (**posse nocere animis carminis omne genus**), just as he shows immediately that in all things evil is mixed with good (266). He fulfils his promise and returns to the subject 363 foll.

265. **crimen habebit**: i. q. criminari poterit, 498 n.

266. **laedere possit**: 80 n.

268. **comparat**, 'makes ready to': absolute, constructed with infin. as in Cic. Planc. 100 'in Asiam me ire . . . comparantem non est passus'. Culex 205 'in fessos requiem dare comparat artus'. Apul. Met. VIII. 15 'illi mutati dominii novitatem metuentes . . . fugere comparant'.

269. **interdum—modo**: this alternative, in place of the more common 'modo—modo' (V. 8. 17), occurs in the order 'modo—interdum' M. II. 189. III. 77. XIII. 541, and 'modo—modo—interdum' M. IV. 197. XI. 499. Horace has 'modo—interdum' Sat. I. 9. 9; 10. 11. II. 7. 7.

For other variations see Kühner, II. 2. 72.

medicina: the art of healing. Thus Apollo (ἀκέσιος, ἀποτρόπαιος) says M. I. 521 'inventum medicina meum est, opiferque per orbem dicor, et herbarum subiecta potentia nobis'.

270. **herba**, 'simple'. H. 5. 147 'quaecumque herba potens ad opem radixque medendo utilis in toto nascitur orbe, mea est'. P. I. 3. 21 'afferat ipse licet sacras Epidaurius herbas, sanabit nulla vulnera cordis ope'. In T. IV. 10. 43 'saepe suas volucres legit mihi grandior aevo, quaeque nocet serpens, quae iuvat herba, Macer', Ovid alludes to three didactic poems by his contemporary Aemilius Macer, his Ornithogonia, Theriaca, and a poem on the healing properties of plants, the title of which Baehrens conjectured to have been De Herbis, Fragmenta Poetarum Lat. p. 345, where three fragments from it are printed. The existence of this third work is questioned by K. P. Schulze, Rhein. Mus. LIII. 541, on insufficient grounds: Schanz, Röm. Litt. II. 1. 199. Baehrens, P. L. M. III. 104 and 222. Manilius II. 44 'ille venenatos anguis, hic naviter [so Wageningen and myself independently, Classical Quarterly, X. 223, for the corrupt 'nata per'] herbas fata refert vitamque sua radice ferentis' refers to the Θηριακὰ and Ἀλεξιφάρμακα of Nicander, and possibly, as Wageningen thinks, Commentarius, p. 107, to the poem of Macer.

nocens: adjectival, 358 n. A. A. II. 415 'sunt quae praecipiant herbas, satureia, nocentis sumere'. M. XIV. 56 'latices radice nocenti spargit'.

272. **insidias . . . opem**: in apposition to 'ensem' understood; for attack by ambuscade or as a means of defence.

275. **recta**: a 'straight' upright heart, the opposite of one 'distorted' depraved, **perversas** 301. Cons. ad Liv. 45 'quid, tenuisse animum contra sua saecula rectum?' Enn. Ann. 202 Vahlen 'quo vobis mentes, rectae, quae stare solebant antehac, dementis sese flexere viai?'

277. **at** introduces the objection given in the words of the objector: supr. 253, inf. 313. V. 1. 69. P. I. 5. 25. A. A. I. 743. Prop. II. 7. 5 'at magnus Caesar'. Tac. A. III. 34. 4 'at quasdam in ambitionem aut avaritiam prolapsas'.

quasdam: sc. matronas **vitio**, i. q. corrumpo. The correct reading is preserved by L alone; other MSS. show great diver-

gence: 'quasdam' or 'quaedam vitiat', 'quaedam vitia', 'quoddam vitium'. Many editors adopt the conjecture of Heinsius, **at quiddam vitii quicunque hinc concipit errat**, but the feminine 'quaecumque' would rather be expected, for it is about women that Ovid is arguing.

concipit, 'imagines'. So with an ablative 'pectore, animo', P. II. 7. 16 'pectore concipio nil nisi triste meo'. M. VII. 17. X. 352, 403; and, without ablative, followed by infinitive, P. II. 2. 9 'non ego concepi . . . clara mea tangi sidera posse manu'.

Ehwald (Symb. II. 20), referring **quasdam** both to the elder Julia, daughter of Augustus, and to the younger, his granddaughter, thinks that Ovid's enemies had suggested that the Ars Amatoria had contributed to corrupt those two profligate princesses. But this view is precluded by chronology, for though she is mentioned along with the younger Julia as having been banished for immorality (Tac. A. III. 24. 2) the elder Julia was banished on account of her dissolute life in 2 B.C. (Dio LV. 10. Vellei. II. 100. Sen. de Ben. VI. 32. Suet. Aug. 65. Tac. A. I. 53. 1): while the Ars Amatoria must have been published subsequently to her banishment, probably a little time before A.D. 2 (Schanz, Röm. Litt. II. 1, p. 270), for in A. A. I. 171 the naumachia exhibited by Augustus at the end of 2 B.C. and in I. 179 the dispatch to the east of Augustus' grandson the young Gaius Caesar in 1 B.C. are spoken of as recent events (Brandt, A. A. p. xxii). The reference in **quasdam** may be to the younger Julia, banished A.D. 9, but is probably more general.

278. **arrogat**: claims for my writings. Hor. A. P. 122 (Achilles) 'nihil non arroget armis'. Ep. II. 1. 35 'chartis pretium quotus arroget annus'. Sat. II. 4. 35. Carm. IV. 14. 40. Val. Max. III. 7, ext. 3 'adeone dextrae suae multum pictor arrogavit?'

279–300. In this passage the opportunities and incentives to frailty provided by the resorts of the capital are reviewed. Ovid had already treated the same subject twice, fully in A. A. I. 67–262, more briefly in A. A. III. 387–96. In A. A. I. 67 foll. he enumerates the meeting-places of wantonness under twelve heads: (1) the porticus, (2) the feast of Adonis and Jewish Sabbath, (3) the temple of Isis, (4) the fora, (5) the theatres, (6) the circus, (7) gladiatorial exhibitions, (8) the naumachia, (9) the Triumph, (10) banquets, (11) visits to Baiae, (12) the temple of Diana at Nemi, near Aricia. In A. A. III. 387 foll. the list comprises (1) the porticus, (2) the temple of Isis, (3) the theatres, (4) gladiatorial exhibitions, (5) the circus. In the present passage are mentioned (1) the theatres 280, (2) gladiatorial exhibitions 281–2, (3) the circus 283–4, (4) the porticus 285–6, (5) the temples 287–300. Of these eight are named, those of Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Mars Ultor, Isis, Venus, Diana, Ceres, whereas in the Ars two only are mentioned, Isis and Diana at Nemi.

Ovid here argues in his defence that, even if his Ars had been suggestive of evil, there were everywhere to be found similar influences at work potent for wrong. In his selection of these he probably intended to hint that the emperor himself had lent his countenance in the same direction: (1) by encouragement of the public spectacles, for which he showed peculiar fondness, and (2) by his construction of colonnades (**porticus**) and temples; all which things served to bring the sexes together. Thus (1) as regards the public spectacles Augustus himself says, Mon. Anc. 22. 31 'ter munus gladiatorium dedi meo nomine et quinquiens filiorum meorum aut nepotum nomine . . . bis athletarum

undique accitorum spectaculum populo praebui meo nomine et tertium nepotis mei nomine. ludos feci meo nomine quater'. Tac. A. I. 54 (of the ludi Augustales) 'neque ipse abhorrebat talibus studiis, et civile rebatur misceri voluptatibus vulgi'. Suet. Aug. 43 'spectaculorum et assiduitate et varietate et magnificentia omnes antecessit'. 45 'studio spectandi ac voluptate, qua teneri se neque dissimulavit umquam et saepe ingenue professus est'. Aurel. Victor. Caes. 1. 4. As regards (2) the colonnades, he built the temple and porticus of Apollo on the Palatine (Mon. Anc. 19. 2 'templum Apollinis in Palatio cum porticibus'), the porticus Octaviae (Mon. Anc. ibid. 3. Suet. Aug. 29), the porticus Liviae (F. VI. 639. Suet. ibid.): the porticus Argonautarum was built by his minister Agrippa (Dio LIII. 27). Of the deities here mentioned Augustus erected temples to Jupiter Feretrius, Tonans, and Libertatis (Mon. Anc. 19. 5, 6. Suet. Aug. 29. Dio LIV. 4), Juno Regina and Minerva (Mon. Anc. 19. 6), Mars Ultor (Mon. Anc. 21. 21. Suet. Aug. 29), and Cybele ('aedes Matris Magnae' Mon. Anc. 19. 8). Moreover, he restored eighty-two temples (Mon. Anc. 20. 17).

ludi were entertainments of two sorts, those given officially at the cost of the State, **ludi publici**, and those given unofficially at the cost of an individual, **ludi privati**. Of these, (1) the ludi publici, which dated from the time of the kings, were spectacles for the amusement of the public, consisting of horse and chariot races, boxing matches, and other athletic contests (Cic. Leg. II. 38), which took place in the Circus, and were termed ludi Circenses. Ov. F. V. 597 'sollemnes ludos Circo celebrate, Quirites'. To these were added in 364 B.C. dramatic spectacles in the theatre, called ludi scaenici (Liv. VII. 2). Ov. T. III. 12. 17 'iunctis ex ordine ludis' refers to the spring spectacles, Megalenses, Cereales, Florales, which were chiefly ludi scaenici.

(2) The ludi privati were mainly ludi funebres, spectacles in honour of a deceased person. In connexion with them combats of gladiators were exhibited, a custom imported originally from Etruria. The first of such combats were those given in 264 B.C. by M. and D. Brutus at the funeral of their father (Liv. Perioch. XVI. Val. Max. II. 4. 7); others recorded are at the funeral of Aemilius Paulus, Valerius Laevinus, P. Licinius Crassus, and T. Flamininus (Liv. XXIII. 30. XXXI. 50. XXXIX. 46. XLI. 28). On account of their popularity these exhibitions were given officially by the consuls in 105 B.C. (Ennod. Paneg. in Theod. 85, p. 213. 25 Vogel), and thenceforth became common as public spectacles. On the ludi see Marquardt, Staatsv. III. 482 foll. Wissowa, Religion u. Kultus der Römer, 449 foll.

Gladiatorial combats did not, however, form part of the ludi, but were accessory to them, and followed on their conclusion. Thus such combats took place on the four days which followed the Quinquatrus, the festival of Minerva on March 19. Ov. F. III. 813–14. Dio LIV. 28. Further, they were termed not 'ludi' but 'munera' (A. A. I. 170 'pars spectati muneris ipse fuit'. Cic. Off. II. 55. Tac. A. IV. 63. Sen. Dial. X. 16. 3. Iuv. 3. 36), because, being originally funeral solemnities, they took the place of the primitive human sacrifices at the grave, and were regarded as 'offerings' ('munera') to the deceased, in which the victims, instead of being killed, killed one another. Tertull. Spect. 12 'munus dictum est ab officio, quoniam officium etiam muneris nomen est; officium autem mortuis hoc spectaculo facere se veteres arbitrabantur'. Wissowa, p. 466. Only under the later empire were 'ludus' and 'ludi gladiatorii' used for 'munus' and 'munera'. Hist. Aug. Hadr. 9. 9. Gallien. 3. 7. Serv. Verg. Aen. VIII. 636.

There has been much dispute as to the reading and meaning of line 281. In my former editions I followed Riese in reading **multis quam** for **multi quam** L (Γ and most MSS. have **quam multis**). I supposed that Ovid used **ludi** loosely for 'munera', because the gladiatorial combats were a common adjunct of the 'ludi'; and that **ludi** is constructed as subject of both **praebent** (279) and **dederunt** (281). Classical Quarterly, VIII. 25. But since 'munus' is the correct designation of a gladiatorial show, I now think this untenable. Goldbacher makes 'ludi' (the shows in general) the subject of **dederunt**, the words **peccandi . . . quam multis dederunt** being in his view parallel to **ludi quoque semina praebent** (279). But the interposition of **theatra**, which should grammatically be the subject, makes this impossible. Among emendations are (1) **nudi** (for **multi**), Rappold, Zeitschr. österr. Gymn. XI. 813, i.e. 'retiarii', who fought 'nudi' in the arena. (2) **quam munera saepe dederunt**, Vogel, a conjecture already made by Heinsius. (3) **mimi**, Baehrens and Ehwald, who, retaining **cur** L in 282, print the couplet thus:

peccandi causam mimi quam saepe dederunt!
Martia cur durum sternit harena solum!

i.e. to think that gladiatorial shows are given! (4) **multis spectacla**, a conjecture communicated to me by Mr. J. S. Phillimore. (5) **quam multis saepta dederunt**, P. H. Damsté, Mnemosyne, XLVI. 6.

None of these remedies seem to me satisfactory. As to (1), why should 'retiarii' alone of gladiators be mentioned? Though women did become enamoured of gladiators, they did not confine their attentions to retiarii. Iuv. 6. 82 foll. Ovid's contention is that the public spectacles led to dangerous freedom of intercourse between the sexes, not that women became enamoured of performers, such as retiarii. As to (2) not only is the conjecture **munera**, 'gladiatorial shows', violent, but **quam** is separated improperly in order from **saepe**. As to (3) the arrangement is unsatisfactory, whereby the couplet is broken into two disconnected parts, of which the hexameter refers to the ludi scaenici, continuing the subject of the previous couplet, while the pentameter deals in one line with the fresh subject of the arena: whereas throughout the passage one couplet is allotted to each subject. Also mimes formed only one portion of the stage spectacles, and cannot stand for the whole; and **cur** yields a wrong sense, since to the question 'Why is sand strewn in the arena?' the natural answer would be, 'That gladiators may fight there', not (which must be intended) 'That the sexes may meet at these performances with dangerous freedom'. I regard **cur** as a faulty reading of L. It is probably an error due to misreading of one of the common contractions of cum (c7, cſ, c'), for which see Lindsay, Notae Latinae, p. 41. In 460 infra for **cui** some MSS. have **cur** others **cum**. As to (4) Mr. Phillimore's ingenious conjecture **spectacla**, which he justifies by supposing that 'all was lost but the *spe*', Ovid does not use the contracted form 'spectaclum', though Propertius does, IV. 8. 21, 56. Also this change and (5) Damsté's **saepta** seem to me violent.

I now restore with some confidence **multi quam**. This is the reading of L, while a few MSS. have **quam multi**. (Most have **quam multis**.) The meaning thus obtained is satisfactory, and does no violence to Latin usage. 'When they exhibit combats of gladiators, how many have often given occasion for infidelity.' **Multi** are the numerous persons who exhibited and paid for gladiatorial 'munera'.

The word **dederunt** is used in direct reference to the fact that such 'munera' were 'given' not at the expense of the State but by private benevolence. It is the word regularly used with relation to them. Cic. Sest. 133 'legem meam, quae vetat gladiatores biennio quo quis petierit aut petiturus sit dare'. So Vatin. 37. Hor. Sat. II. 3. 85 'gladiatorum dare centum damnati populo paria'. Liv. XXIII. 30. 15 'gladiatorum paria duo et viginti in foro dederunt'. XXXI. 50. 4 'munus gladiatorium datum ab iis'. Petron. 45 'munus tamen tibi dedi'.

279. **ut**: concessive, a favourite use with Ovid, here with pres. subj. joined with pres. indic. in the main clause, as I. 2. 71. III. 11. 17. V. 12. 17; 14. 33. More often the pres. subj. is joined with the fut. indic., as I. 1. 35; 2. 43; occasionally with perf. indic., as IV. 6. 26.

semina praebent. Am. III. 4. 9 'cui peccare licet, peccat minus: ipsa potestas semina nequitiae languidiora facit'.

280. **nequitiae** and **peccandi** (281) are words belonging to the vocabulary of erotic poetry. **nequitia** means love adventures, intrigue, gallantry. Am. I. 13. 32. II. 1. 2. Prop. I. 6. 26. II. 24. 6. **peccare** is used of unlawful love, infidelity. Am. II. 5. 3. III. 4. 9; 14. 1. Tibull. IV. 14. 1. Prop. II. 19. 10.

theatra: there were three stone theatres in Rome. III. 12. 24 'proque tribus resonant terna theatra foris'. A. A. III. 394 'visite conspicuis terna theatra locis'. Suet. Aug. 45 'trina theatra'. These were (1) that of Pompey, opened 55 B. C., but not completed till 52 B. C.; (2) of Marcellus, begun by Julius Caesar, completed and dedicated in the name of his nephew Marcellus by Augustus in either 11 B. C. (Plin. N. H. VIII. 65) or 13 B. C. (Dio LIV. 26); (3) of Balbus, completed in 13 B. C. For the existing remains see Middleton, Remains of Ancient Rome, ii. 65 foll.

282. Gladiators were exhibited under the Republic at first in the Forum Boarium, later in the Forum Romanum, seats on temporary scaffoldings being erected around for the spectators, until the erection of the first stone amphitheatre in 29 B. C. by Statilius Taurus (Suet. Aug. 29. Tac. A. III. 72. Dio LI. 23. LXII. 18), though even after this was built they were still sometimes exhibited in the Forum, or occasionally in the 'Saepta' in the Campus Martius (Dio LV. 8 and 10). Marquardt, Staatsv. III. 556. Middleton, I. 234. II. 188. Sand was strewn on the pavement of the Forum and in the elliptical space in the centre of the amphitheatre (hence called the arena) in order to make the surface level and to absorb the blood shed. **sternit** means cover, bestrew. Ovid's words are a reminiscence of Prop. IV. 8. 76 'nec cum lascivum sternet harena forum'. Cp. Am. II. 14. 8 'sternetur pugnae tristis harena tuae'. A. A. I. 164 'sparsaque sollicito tristis harena foro'. F. III. 813 'altera tresque super rasa ("raked" Mart. II. 75. 6. Ehwald, Krit. Beiträge, p. 56 al. 'strata') celebrantur harena'. The sand was sprinkled with water, Petron. 34. The epithet **Martia**, applied to **harena**, means appropriated to Mars, the god of battle, 'the sand of conflict'. So 'Martia bella' F. III. 232. Hor. A. P. 402. Verg. Aen. VII. 182 'Martiaque ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi' (wounds in battle). Tibull. I. 1. 4 'Martia cui somnos classica pulsa fugent' (trumpets of battle); 2. 68 'Martia castra'. Mart. II. 75. 8 'Martia non vidit maius harena nefas', though this is explained by Friedländer as equivalent to Romana, the arena of the descendants of Mars.

283. **Circus**: the chief Circus at Rome, for the exhibition of horse

and chariot races, was the Circus Maximus in the Vallis Murcia, between the Palatine and Aventine hills, whose beginning dated from prehistoric times. Middleton, II. 40. There was also the Circus of Flaminius in the Campus Martius, founded by the Censor Flaminius, who was killed at Lake Trasimenus in 217 B.C. Middleton, II. 57. Lanciani, Ruins of Ancient Rome, p. 453.

In the Circus men and women sat together; in this 'freedom' (**licentia**) it differed from the other spectacles, in which the sexes were separated. Suet. Aug. 44. A. A. I. 139 'proximus a domina, nullo prohibente, sedeto'. Ovid, Am. III. 2 describes the Circus as adapted to flirtation. Iuv. 11. 201 'spectent iuvenes, quos clamor et audax sponsio, quos cultae decet adsedisse puellae'.

284. **iuncta**, beside, adjoining: inf. 296. IV. 10. 110. V. 3. 8. F. VI. 396, 477. P. I. 8. 44.

285. **in hoc**, 'for the purpose that': **in** with accusative denotes the purpose: Hor. Epod. 17. 63 'ingrata misero vita ducenda est in hoc novis ut usque suppetas laboribus'. Phaedr. IV, prol. 1 'cum destinassem terminum operi statuere in hoc, ut aliis esset materiae satis'. Sen. de Ira, II. 26. 3 'alius non in hoc ut te offenderet fecit'. The phrase is a favourite with Seneca. Dial. 6 (Cons. Marc.). 16. 6. Ep. 16. 3; 47. 3; 51. 13; 76. 2. Cp. M. VIII. 77 'neque in hoc tamen ignibus ullis aut gladiis opus est'. X. 408 'in hoc mea (pone timorem) sedulitas erit apta tibi'. So 'in id' Liv. XXI. 42. 2, 'cum deiecta in id sors esset' XXVIII. 17. 9. XXX. 12. 18.

The Porticus Pompei (Middleton, II. 67) was especially frequented as a meeting-place: Catull. 55. 6. Prop. II. 32. 11. IV. 8. 75. A. A. I. 67. III. 387.

287. **augustior**, etymologically connected with 'augeo', means elevated, exalted (Walde, pp. 73, 74), hence venerable, holy. F. I. 609 'sancta vocant augusta patres, augusta vocantur templa sacerdotum rite dicata manu'.

288. **ingeniosa**: full of capacity, talent; constructed (1) here with 'in' as 342. Ibis 186 'Aeacus in poenas ingeniosus erit'; (2) with 'ad' H. 2. 22 'ad causas ingeniosa fui'. M. XI. 313 'Autolycus furtum ingeniosus ad omne'; (3) with dative, Am. II. 6. 18 'vox mutandis ingeniosa sonis'. It also means full of capacity for, i. e. productive. H. 6. 117 'terra ingeniosa colenti'. F. IV. 684 'ad segetes ingeniosus ager'. T. V. 1. 28 'materia est propriis ingeniosa malis'.

289–300. The temples here referred to are those of:

1. **Iupiter** Optimus Maximus (289) on the Capitol.

2. **Iuno** Moneta (291) near it, on the Arx of the Capitol. F. VI. 183 'arce quoque in summa Iunoni templa Monetae ex voto memorant facta, Camille, tuo'.

3. **Minerva** (293) on the Aventine. F. VI. 728 'coepit Aventina Pallas in arce coli'.

4. **Mars Ultor** and **Venus** (295), the ancestors of the gens Iulia, in the Forum Augustum.

5. **Isis** (297).

6. **Venus** Genetrix (299) in the Forum Iulium erected by Iulius Caesar in 46 B. C.

7. **Diana** (299) on the Aventine. Prop. IV. 8. 29. Mart. VI. 64. 13. F. III. 883 'Luna regit mensis. huius quoque tempora mensis finit Aventino Luna colenda iugo'.

8. **Ceres** (300) near the Circus Maximus, begun by the Dictator A. Postumius 496 B. C., dedicated by the Consul Cassius 493 B. C., and,

after it had been injured by a fire, partly rebuilt by Augustus. Tac. A. II. 49.

To these must be added the temple of Iupiter Tonans, built by Augustus on the Capitol, near the temple of Iupiter Optimus Maximus (Suet. Aug. 29. 91), that of Iupiter Victor and the two temples of Iupiter Stator (III. 1. 32. F. VI. 793. Wissowa, Religion u. Kultus, 122); the temples of Venus Erycina, Verticordia, and Victrix (Wissowa, 290); and the temple of the Magna Mater on the Palatine which, having been destroyed by fire, was rebuilt by Augustus (Wissowa, 318. Lanciani, Ruins, 134).

The conservatism of Augustus, and his hostility to the foreign cult of the Egyptian gods, who were regarded as the protectors of his opponent Antony in the civil war (Verg. Aen. VIII. 696. Prop. III. 11. 39. Ov. M. XV. 827), led him to banish the worship of Isis outside the pomerium in 28 B.C., (Dio LIII. 2. Dill, Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius, 565), but this regulation seems to have been often disregarded, for there are frequent references to a temple of Isis at this period: Am. II. 2. 25 'linigeram fieri quid possit ad Isim'. A. A. I. 77 'linigerae Memphitica templa iuvencae'. III. 464. P. I. 1. 52. It is not known where this temple was situated, since the temple of Isis and Serapis in the Campus Martius, near the Saepta Iulia (Iuv. 6. 528), the first temple of her worship which was officially recognized, is of later date, and was erected probably in the reign of Claudius. Wissowa, 353.

The temples are spoken of as places of assignation similarly in A. A. I. 77. Prop. II. 19. 10 'fanaque, peccatis plurima causa tuis'. Iuv. 9. 22 'nuper enim, ut repeto, fanum Isidis et Ganymedem Pacis et advectae secreta Palatia matris et Cererem (nam quo non prostat femina templo?) notior Aufidio moechus scelerare solebas'. See Friedländer, Sittengesch. I. (ed. 8) 508.

290. For the licentiousness of the gods referred to in this passage cp. Eur. Ion 442 *πῶς οὖν δίκαιον τοὺς νόμους ὑμᾶς βροτοῖς γράψαντας, αὐτοὺς ἀνομίαν ὀφλισκάνειν; εἰ δ' (οὐ γὰρ ἔσται, τῷ λόγῳ δὲ χρήσομαι) δίκας βιαίων δώσετ' ἀνθρώποις γάμων, σὺ καὶ Ποσειδῶν Ζεύς θ' ὃς οὐρανοῦ κρατεῖ, ναοὺς τίνοντες ἀδικίας κενώσετε.*

292. **paelicibus**: the same as the **multas matres** (290). H. 14. 95 'illa Iovis magni paelex metuenda sorori'. M. II. 468 'iam puer Arcas (id ipsum indoluit Iuno) fuerat de paelice natus'. Sen. H. F. 1 'soror Tonantis . . . semper alienum Iovem, ac templa summi vidua deserui aetheris, locumque caelo pulsa paelicibus dedi'. Prop. III. 22. 35 'cornua nec valuit curvare in paelice Iuno'.

294. It is probable that in the earliest form of the myth **Erichthonius** was represented as a natural son of Hephaestus and Athena (Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encycl. XI. 442). As this story reflected on the austere virtue of the virgin goddess, two counter-legends were devised in order to save her honour. Of these (1) the simpler represented him as merely the son of Earth. This, the oldest form of the legend known to us, is recorded by the author of the Danais and Pindar, fr. 253, Epic. Graec. fragm. Kinkel, 1. 78, fr. 2 *ὁ δὲ Πίνδαρος καὶ ὁ τὴν Δαναΐδα πεποιηκώς φασιν Ἐριχθόνιον καὶ Ἥφαιστον ἐκ γῆς φανῆναι.* So Eur. Ion 267 *Ιω. ἐκ γῆς πατρός σου πρόγονος ἔβλαστεν πατήρ; Κρ. Ἐριχθόνιός γε· τὸ δὲ γένος μ' οὐκ ὠφελεῖ. Ιω. ἦ καί σφ' Ἀθάνα γῆθεν ἐξανείλετο; Κρ. ἐς παρθένους γε χεῖρας, οὐ τεκοῦσά νιν.* (2) In the other legend he owed his parentage to Hephaestus but not to Athena, who successfully resisted the god's advances, though she brought up and cared for

Erichthonius as her own child. So Callimachus, Hecale, col. 2. 4 Gomperz (Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer, Vol. VI = Callim. fragmenta, p. 80. 19 Pfeiffer), calls Erichthonius *δρόσος Ἡφαίστοιο.* Apollodor. III. 14. 6 *Ἀθηνᾶ παρεγένετο πρὸς Ἥφαιστον ὅπλα κατασκευάσαι θέλουσα, ὁ δὲ ἐγκαταλελειμμένος ὑπὸ Ἀφροδίτης εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν ὤλισθε τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ διώκειν αὐτὴν ἤρξατο, ἡ δὲ ἔφευγεν. ὡς δὲ ἐγγὺς αὐτῆς ἐγένετο πολλῇ ἀνάγκῃ (ἦν γὰρ χωλός) ἐπειρᾶτο συνελθεῖν, ἡ δὲ ὡς σώφρων καὶ παρθένος οὖσα οὐκ ἠνέσχετο. ὁ δὲ ἀπεσπέρμηνεν εἰς τὸ σκέλος τῆς θεᾶς, ἐκείνη δὲ μυσαχθεῖσα ἐρίῳ ἀπομάξασα τὸν γόνον εἰς γῆν ἔρριψε. φευγούσης δὲ αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς γονῆς εἰς γῆν πεσούσης Ἐριχθόνιος γίνεται. τοῦτον Ἀθηνᾶ κρύφα τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν ἔτρεφεν ἀθάνατον θέλουσα ποιῆσαι.* Hygin. Fab. 166 'tunc ergo Neptunus, quod Minervae erat infestus, instigavit Vulcanum Minervam petere in coniugium. qua re inpetrata, in thalamum cum venisset, Minerva monitu Iovis virginitatem suam armis defendit interque luctandum ex semine eius, quod in terram decidit, natus est puer, qui inferiorem partem draconis habuit: quem Erichthonium ideo nominarunt quod *ἔρις* Graece certatio dicitur, *χθὼν* autem terra dicitur. quem Minerva cum clam nutriret, dedit in cistula servandum Aglauro Pandroso et Hersae Cecropis filiabus'. So Eur. fr. 925 Nauck, T. G. F., p. 660. This is the horrible form of the legend alluded to here and in M. II. 553 'Pallas Erichthonium, prolem sine matre creatam, clauserat Actaeo texta de vimine cista virginibusque tribus gemino de Cecrope natis et legem dederat, sua ne secreta viderent'. Erichthonius was the father of Pandion and grandfather of the Athenian king Erechtheus, Pausan. I. 5. 3.

sustulerit is intentionally ambiguous. Though the natural meaning is 'lifted from the ground' (*ἐξανείλετο* Euripides, l. c.), and so acknowledged and reared, since Athena lifted Erichthonius from the ground and brought him up, it might also signify 'removed' concealed, for she reared him secretly (*κρύφα* Apollodorus, 'clam' Hyginus). The emphatic position of the verb at the beginning of the line is probably designed to draw attention to this ambiguity (Hilberg, p. 230), though the former meaning predominates, in reference to the custom by which the parent, father or, as here and Plaut. Truc. 399, the mother, lifted an infant from the ground, thus acknowledging its paternity. Plaut. Amph. 501 'quod erit natum tollito'. Ter. Andr. 219 (of Pamphilus and Glycerium) 'quidquid peperisset decreverunt tollere'. H. 4. 123 'addidit et fratres ex me tibi, quos tamen omnis non ego tollendi causa, sed ille fuit'. Verg. Aen. IX. 201 'non ita me genitor . . . sublatum erudiit'. Hor. Sat. II. 5. 45 'si cui praeterea validus male filius in re praeclara sublatus aletur'.

295. **munera**: plural in sense of singular, common in poetry and colloquial Latin, Kühner, II. 1. 85. So inf. 420. A. A. I. 69 'aut ubi muneribus nati sua munera mater addidit (i. e. the porticus Octaviae), externo marmore dives opus'. F. VI. 776 'in Tiberis ripa munera regis habet' (i. e. Fors Fortuna). Consol. ad Liv. 287 'nec sua conspiciet (miserum me!) munera Drusus, nec sua prae templi nomina fronte leget'. Mart. Spect. 2. 7 'hic ubi miramur velocia munera thermas'. VII. 34. 9 'ut quid tu domini deique nostri praefers muneribus Neronianis'. Vellei. II. 130. 1 'quam magnifico animi temperamento Cn. quoque Pompei munera absumpta igni restituit!'

296. The temple of Mars Ultor, of which three majestic Corinthian columns are still standing, occupied the centre of the Forum Augustum, and was built in fulfilment of a vow made in 42 B. C., before the battle of Philippi, to Mars by Augustus, who by his victory there avenged the

death of his adoptive father Julius Caesar. It was dedicated in 2 B. C. (Jordan, Topographie der Stadt Rom, I. 2, p. 443. Lanciani, Ruins of Ancient Rome, p. 304. Middleton, II. 6 foll.). In the interior was the statue of Mars, and placed beside it (**iuncta**, 284 n.) that of Venus, while a statue of Vulcan, the husband (**vir**) of Venus, excluded in favour of her paramour, stood, as appears from this line, outside the door. The temple is described, with its statues of invincible gods ('invictos deos') on the pediment, and trophies fixed to the door, together with the series of statues of victorious kings and generals, to whom the Roman empire owed its greatness, which adorned the Forum Augustum (Suet. Aug. 31. Dio LV. 10. Iuv. 1. 129. C. I. L. I², pp. 186 foll.), in F. V. 559 foll. 'prospicit armipotens operis fastigia summi et probat invictos summa tenere deos. prospicit in foribus diversae tela figurae armaque terrarum milite victa suo. hinc videt Aenean oneratum pondere sacro et tot Iuleae nobilitatis avos; hinc videt Iliaden umeris ducis arma ferentem, claraque dispositis acta subesse viris. spectat et Augusto praetextum nomine templum, et visum lecto Caesare maius opus. voverat hoc iuvenis tunc, cum pia sustulit arma: a tantis princeps incipiendus erat'.

The association of the divine protectors of the gens Iulia, Venus and Mars, the father of Romulus, in the temple was due to the officially recognized claim of the gens Iulia to be descended through Iulus from Aeneas and the goddess Venus, and was a feature in the revival of the state religion instituted by Augustus, who sought thus to invest the principate with a halo of divine right. For the same reason the Pantheon was consecrated as a temple to Mars and Venus, and other mythical ancestors of the gens Iulia. Wissowa, Religion und Kultus, pp. 78, 146, 292. Middleton, II. 128.

The true reading **vir**, preserved by L, was, before this MS. was known, restored independently by conjecture by Bentley and Haupt. The other MSS. have **viro**, which was interpreted 'the statue of Venus stands beside that of her leman the Avenger before the door'. This explanation outrages both (1) sense, and (2) metre. For (1) the word **viro** cannot stand for 'the adulterer', for which 'amator' is used as distinguished from 'vir' 'the husband', as inf. 372 'inter amatorem pugna virumque fuit'. **Vir** might mean 'man' as in A. A. III. 87 'ite per exemplum, genus o mortale, dearum gaudia nec cupidis vestra negate viris'; but Mars was a god not a man. It might also mean 'husband', which is what it does mean with the true reading here; but Mars was not the husband of Venus. Further, one entering the temple is concerned with what is inside it, not with what stands before the door. See Lachmann on Lucret. III. 954, p. 199. (2) Ovid in his elegiacs never allowed the elision of the final long syllable of a word forming an iambus. There are two apparent exceptions to this rule: (a) Am. II. 19. 20 'saepe time insidias, saepe rogata nega'. Here Ehwald vainly defends the elision of the final syllable of 'time' by adducing (Teubner, text praef. p. xi) II. 13. 24 'feram ante', III. 6. 101 'fluminum amores', which are not parallels; while L. Müller, de Re Metrica, ed. 2, p. 346, without sufficient reason brackets lines 19–22 as an interpolation. Of the various emendations proposed, Palmer's 'saepe tamen sedeas' (Heroides, p. 449) is the neatest: for 'sedere' of a woman sitting at home he compares T. III. 7. 3 'aut illam invenies dulci cum matre sedentem'. Prop. II. 14. 14 'nec mihi ploranti lenta sedere potest'. I see, however, little point in 'tamen', and believe that what Ovid wrote was 'saepe domi sedeas', which restores both metre and sense.

(b) H. 17. 97 'disce meo exemplo formosis posse carere'. Here the case is different, for this epistle is the work not of Ovid, but of an imitator, who composed the suspicious later Heroides. But even so the elision of the final 'o' of 'meo' is questionable, because that imitator is scrupulous in observing Ovid's metrical rules. I believe that what the author wrote was 'disce modo exemplo' 'I only ask that you learn by example to bring yourself to avoid the fair'. 'Meo' was probably a gloss written above 'exemplo', which being taken for a correction supplanted 'modo'. Ovid affects 'modo' with imperatives: H. 3. 153. M. VIII. 488. XV. 659. On the whole question see L. Müller, de Re Metrica, ed. 2, p. 341.

Moreover, Ovid did not allow elision of a long syllable in the second half of the pentameter. The only instance quoted is H. 20. 178 'et tu continuo, certe ego salvus ero', which line is wanting in the chief MS. Puteaneus, Paris 8242. This epistle also is the work of Ovid's imitator, but the elision is no less questionable on that ground. Of emendations, Hilberg, p. 7, appears to favour Gilbert's 'terque ego', Housman has proposed 'continuo per te tunc ego salvus ero'. The brilliant correction of Palmer seems to me convincing. He reads 'et tu continuo certa salutis eris', supporting his emendation by the Greek version of Planudes *καὶ σὺ παραχρῆμα τῆς σωτηρίας σαυτῆς ἐπιλήψῃ.*

For these reasons the reading **viro** is untenable, and can be interpreted neither in the way stated above nor as by Hiemer, Rhein. Mus. LXII. 232 'If she enters the temple of Mars, before its door stands that of Venus the paramour (**iuncta**) of the warrior Avenger': meaning that the temple of Venus Genetrix was at the entrance of the Forum Augustum. This is topographically incorrect, for the temple of Venus Genetrix was in the Forum Iulium, which was shut off from the Forum Augustum by its lofty surrounding wall.

For the position of the monosyllable **vir** late in the line, cp. IV. 3. 60 'quemque tuum malles esse, vir alter erat'. H. 5. 98 'causa pudenda tua est; iusta vir arma movet'; H. 9. 36 'torqueor, infesto ne vir ab hoste cedat'; 9. 106 'quod tu non esses iure, vir illa fuit'. So also 'vir' H. 13. 40. Am. III. 11. 18. 'cor' P. I. 3. 32. 'ter' T. V. 10. 2. 'dat' H. 6. 140. F. III. 560. 'det' P. IV. 2. 10. 'bis' T. IV. 6. 20. F. I. 28, 564. VI. 200, 768. 'es' A. A. I. 204. F. I. 482. 'et' A. A. I. 358. 'per' H. 14. 34. 'quid' Am. I. 6. 30. 'ad' F. I. 562. 'sit' F. I. 680.

297. Io, daughter of the river god Inachus, King of Argos, being loved by Jupiter, was changed by him into a cow to escape the jealous wrath of Juno, who first set Argus to watch her, and when he was killed by Mercury tormented her with a gad-fly, which pursued her as she wandered from her home to Dodona, thence from Europe into Asia, over the Ionian sea, which was called after her (Aesch. Prom. 840. Apollodor. II. 1. 3), across the Thracian Bosporus, thence across the Cimmerian Bosporus past the Caucasus, across the Indian Bosporus (each strait being called after her 'Ox-ford' **Bosporus**, Aesch. Prom. 733), until at last she arrived in Egypt, where she recovered her original shape and found rest. The story is told H. 14. 85 foll. M. I. 568 foll., and with variations Verg. Geor. III. 153. Aen. VII. 790. Apollodor. II. 1. 3. Hygin. fab. 145. Although in the legends she is said to have been changed into a cow, and Propertius II. 33. 9; III. 22. 35 so describes her, in I. 3. 20; II. 28. 17 he apparently regards her as a woman with a cow's head, in which form she was represented in works of art. Her form caused her to be identified with the Egyptian

goddess Isis, who was represented as a cow or woman with cow's horns. A. A. I. 77. III. 464. M. IX. 687. F. I. 454. Lucian, Dial. Deor. 3.

299. **Anchises**: 262 n. Verg. Aen. I. 617 'tune ille Aeneas, quem Dardanio Anchisae alma Venus Phrygii genuit Simoentis ad undam?'

Latmius heros: Endymion. A. A. III. 83 'Latmius Endymion non est tibi, Luna, rubori?' Cic. Tusc. I. 92 'Endymion . . . ut in Latmo obdormivit, qui est mons Cariae, nondum, opinor, est experrectus. num igitur eum curare censes, cum Luna laboret, a qua consopitus putatur, ut eum dormientem oscularetur?'

300. **Iasion**: loved by Demeter. Hom. Od. V. 125 *ὡς δ' ὁπότ' Ἰασίωνι ἐϋπλόκαμος Δημήτηρ, ᾧ θυμῷ εἴξασα, μίγη φιλότητι καὶ εὐνῇ.* Hes. Theog. 970. The form **Iasion**, which is here corrupted by almost all MSS. into **iason**, is usual, and occurs M. IX. 423: though the alternative form 'Iasius' (so Hesiod, Theog. 970) is used Am. III. 10. 25.

302. **stant . . . locis**: H. 21. 98 'miror et in cunctis stantia signa locis'.

tamen: 118 n.

omnia: sc. 'templa', the temples enumerated 289 foll.

tuta: undemolished.

303. **et**, 'besides', cp. 322, introduces not a new reason, but one already used, supr. 245 foll. This portion of the argument is summed up and concluded in this and the following couplet. A new division begins at 307.

304. **summovet**: 251 n.

With **ingenuas manus** cp. A. A. II. 215 'nec tibi turpe puta (quamvis sit turpe, placebit) ingenua speculum sustinuisse manu'. Here it means the hands of free-born, i. e. honest, women as distinguished from 'meretrices', women of bad character. Cp. Iuv. 11. 154 'ingenui vultus puer ingenuique pudoris'.

pagina prima: A. A. I. 31–4, supr. 247–50.

305. A woman, who has darted forth along a way which the priest forbids, is herself guilty of the crime from which he is absolved (**huic dempti**). **erupit** refers to rushing forth generally, not to rushing forth through the door of a temple, which would make the remark pointless, since temples had only one door: Varro, Ling. Lat. VII. 13 'omne templum esse debet continuo saeptum nec plus unum introitum habere'. The reference is to passing over consecrated ground, a 'locus sacer' or 'religiosus'. Festus, 321 M. Macrob. Sat. III. 3. 2. One who entered such a prohibited area incurred the guilt of sacrilege. Thus the city walls were regarded as consecrated, one who climbed over them was guilty of sacrilege. Plutarch, Rom. 11. Dig. I. 8. 11 'si quis violaverit muros, capite punitur, sicuti siquis transcendet scalis admotis vel alia qualibet ratione. nam cives Romanos alia quam per portas egredi non licet, cum illud hostile et abominandum sit'. Cp. Macrob. Sat. III. 3. 8 'Servius Sulpicius religionem esse dictam tradidit quae propter sanctitatem aliquam remota ac seposita a nobis sit, quasi a relinquendo dicta ut a carendo caerimonia. hoc Vergilius servans ait "est ingens gelidum lucus prope Caeritis amnem religione patrum late sacer" [Aen. VIII. 597], et adiecit, quo proprietatem religionis exprimeret "undique colles inclusere cavi, et nigra nemus abiete cingit", quae res utique faciebat lucum a populi communione secretum'. Gell. IV. 9. 8. Verg. Aen. VII. 170 'tectum augustum ingens . . . horrendum silvis et religione parentum'. The language of our passage is not unlike Macrob. Sat. I. 24. 12 'ita sibi belli isti homines certos scientiae fines et veluti quaedam pomeria et effata posuerunt, ultra quae si quis

egredi audeat, introspexisse in aedem deae a qua mares absterrentur existimandus sit'. The idea is that if taboo be broken the priest who has forbidden its violation is himself free from guilt. An instance of religious taboo is the prohibition against female slaves entering the temple of Mater Matuta: Ov. F. VI. 481. Plutarch, Quaest. Rom. 16 *καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐν Χαιρονείᾳ πρὸ τοῦ σηκοῦ τῆς Λευκοθέας ὁ νεωκόρος λαβὼν μάστιγα κηρύσσει μὴ δοῦλον εἰσιέναι μὴ δούλαν, μὴ Αἰτωλὸν μὴ Αἰτωλάν.* Taboo extended specially to egress: thus it was unlucky to leave a house by the same door by which one entered, Petron. Cen. Trim. 72; the officers who visited Alexander when sick at Babylon left his tent by another exit, Lucian, Alexander, 16.

qua: i. q. 'per quem locum',—Ciofanus, who compared Prop. III. 16. 26 'qua facit assiduo tramite vulgus iter'. The adverb is common in Ovid: I. 9. 66 'qua bene coepisti, sic bene semper eas'. III. 1. 19. IV. 2. 49. H. 2. 52. P. II. 1. 35. III. 7. 20. F. III. 477.

Heinsius, followed by Merkel, adopted the reading of some inferior MSS. '**quaecumque irrumpit, quo . . . hoc vetiti criminis acta rea est**', 'she who bursts into a shrine, into which the priest forbids entrance, is at once on that account guilty of a forbidden crime'. Heinsius understood this of entrance by the uninitiated into a forbidden shrine, comparing V. 1. 78 'quae tamen irrumpunt quoque vetantur eunt'. F. VI. 453 (of Metellus) 'dixit et irrupit. factum dea rapta probavit'. P. I. 7. 23 'nec tamen irrumpo, quo non licet ire'. He explained **hoc** 'hoc ipso' 'on that account', abl. of cause as 'hoc' in Hor. Sat. I. 1. 46; 3. 93; 6. 52, 110. The meaning then obtained for the hexameter is satisfactory, but in the pentameter not only a present rather than the perfect **acta rea est** is required, but the sense fails, for Ovid means not that the woman who bursts in is guilty, but that the priest is absolved from the guilt. This sense is secured by Rothmaler's (Em. Ov. Spec. p. 9) simple correction **huic**, confirmed by **hinc**, the reading of a few of Heinsius' MSS. and of the Florence Laurentianus, 36. 33. **huic** is constructed with **dempti** 'removed from him': cp. supr. 9 'deme mihi studium, vitium quoque carmine demes': and for the dative IV. 2. 58 'erepti nobis ius habet illa loci'. Güthling and Némethy combining the two readings adopt **irrumpit** (**inrupit** Güthling) **quo . . . huic dempti ipsa** (**acta** Güthling).

The **sacerdos**, who prohibits, is intended to suggest Ovid himself, who prohibits the reading of his Ars by matrons. Poets were the priests of the Muses. III. 2. 3 'nec vos, Pierides, nec stirps Letoia, vestro docta sacerdoti turba tulistis opem'. Am. III. 8. 23 'ille ego Musarum purus Phoebique sacerdos'. Hor. Carm. III. 1. 2 'carmina non prius audita Musarum sacerdos virginibus puerisque canto'. Prop. III. 1. 3 'primus ego ingredior puro de fonte sacerdos Itala per Graios orgia ferre choros'.

307–10. Harlots (argues Ovid) are encountered everywhere in Rome: yet (1) just as the chaste matron may behold them without being corrupted, so she will not necessarily be tempted to evil by the mere reading of his Ars; (2) and as, although even Vestal Virgins, the supreme type of austere virtue, see the persons of harlots, yet the keeper of the harlots is not punished on that account, so, though because of the licentious teaching of his Ars he may be regarded as standing in the position of a 'leno', yet that is no reason why he, any more than the 'leno', should be punished.

307–8. This couplet may be explained in three ways. It seems best (1) to take **licet** as meaning 'it is permitted', **castae** as nominative, subject to **legant**, and to put a colon after **mollis**. 'Still it is

not a crime to read erotic verses: virtuous women are permitted to read many things they should not do.'

Others understand **licet** in its concessive sense, by which it gradually in usage became equivalent to 'etsi' (Kühner, II. 2. 443), and, putting a comma after **mollis**, either (2) supplying 'castas' out of **castae** as subject of **evolvere** (for the suppressed subject cp. inf. 346 (me) sollicitare), take **castae** as nominative, subject to **legant**. 'Still, though virtuous women may read many things they should not do, it is no crime for them to read erotic verses': or (3) construct **castae** as singular dative of agent with **facienda**, and understand 'ingenuae' from supr. 304 as subject of **legant**. 'But it is no crime to read erotic verses, though honest women read many things that a virtuous woman should not do.'

It is an objection to both these two latter interpretations that they give a weakened force to the pentameter; and, as regards (3), which is adopted by Hilberg, p. 154, it is awkward to understand **castae** as singular, for which, since the subject of **legant** is plural, 'castis' rather would be expected: cp. A. A. I. 623 'delectant etiam castas praeconia formae'. Hilberg decides in favour of the third view because he lays it down as a principle that if 'licet' be not concessive but means 'it is permitted' Ovid would have arranged the words in the order **legant . . . licet**. An examination of Ovid's use of 'licet' has convinced me that no such principle can be laid down as a hard and fast rule. I subjoin the evidence.

'Licet' 'it is permitted'.

(1) preceding its subordinate subjunctive:

(a) 'licet' Rem. 534 'e medio iam licet amne bibas'. M. II. 567 'licet quaeras'. IX. 480 'licet redeat'. XIV. 322 'licet adspicias'. Ibis 169 'licet sis'. P. IV. 9. 113 'licet quaeras'. F. III. 837 'licet videas'.

(b) 'licebit' Rem. 482 'licebit eat'.

(2) succeeding its subordinate subjunctive:

(a) 'licet' Am. III. 2. 76 'in nostros abdas te licet usque sinus'. H. 3. 81 'patiare licet'. 20. 81 'scindas licet'. M. III. 192 'narres licet'; ibid. 405 'amet licet'. XII. 199 'sint licet'. XV. 808 'intres licet'. P. IV. 15. 11 'testere licet'.

(b) 'licebit' H. 20. 21 'dicas licebit'; ibid. 71 'sis licebit'. P. III. 2. 23 'iactent licebit'.

'Licet' in concessive sense.

(1) preceding its subordinate subjunctive:

(a) 'licet' Am. I. 2. 45 'non possunt, licet ipse velis, cessare sagittae'. H. 5. 131 'licet appelles'. 8. 43 'licet superbiat'. 20. 201 'licet narres'. A. A. I. 664 'licet non det'; ibid. 673 'licet appelles'. Nux 65 'licet laborem'. M. VIII. 185 'licet obstruat'. IX. 741 'licet confluat, licet revolet'. T. II. 145 'licet vetes'. Ibis 202 'licet tribuas'. P. II. 2. 23 'licet feras'. III. 1. 77 'licet facias'. 3. 75 'licet obumbres'. IV. 1. 15 'licet queratur'. 10. 28 'licet vomat'.

(b) 'licebit' M. VIII. 755 'licebit sit'.

In the following passages 'tamen' occurs in the corresponding clause: M. VIII. 394 'licet protegat, tamen perimet'. XIII. 63 'licet vincat, haud tamen efficiet'.

(2) succeeding its subordinate subjunctive:

(a) 'licet' Am. III. 4. 31 'indignere licet, iuvat inconcessa voluptas'. H. 1. 83 'increpet licet'. A. A. II. 266 'sint licet'. III. 106 'sit licet'. M. II. 429 'audiat licet'. XIII. 18 'sit licet'. XIV. 171 'praestem licet'; ibid. 686 'iubeas licet'. T. IV. 9. 9

'sim licet'. V. 12. 11 'des licet'. P. I. 2. 35 'veniat licet'. 3. 21 'afferat licet'. 4. 17 'sit licet'. 5. 27 'repetas licet'. 6. 3 'dissimules metuasque licet'. II. 10. 7 'sis licet'; ibid. 43 'absim licet'. IV. 7. 17 'sit licet'. F. III. 824 'sit licet'.

(b) 'licebit' M. VIII. 602 'sit licebit'. XIII. 862 'placeat licebit'. XIV. 355 'rapiare licebit'. P. III. 4. 33 'sint licebit'.

In the following passages 'tamen' occurs in the corresponding clause with 'licet', M. IV. 370 'pugnes licet, non tamen effugies': with 'licebit', M. II. 58 'placeat licebit, non tamen quisquam valet'. T. V. 14. 3 'detrahat licebit, tu tamen ferere'.

Both orders of the words combined, with the addition of 'tamen' in the corresponding clause, are found in M. XIII. 328

> sis licet infestus sociis regique mihique,
> dure Philoctete, licet exsecrere meumque
> devoveas sine fine caput cupiasque dolenti
> me tibi forte dari nostrumque haurire cruorem, . . .
> te tamen adgrediar mecumque reducere nitar.

The evidence shows that, though 'licet' is rather more frequent in the concessive sense than as a mere verb, no inference can be drawn as to its meaning from the order of the words, since both orders occur indifferently whether 'licet' be concessive or a simple verb.

Further, if **licet** be here concessive, **tamen** in the main clause ought to correspond to it in the sense of 'though . . . still'. But from the above collection of passages it appears that, wherever 'tamen' corresponds to 'licet', the clause in which it stands follows the 'licet' clause, whereas here it precedes it. Here therefore **tamen** does not correspond to **licet**, but **nec tamen** merely connects the couplet with what went before, which use of this combination of adverbs is frequent, e.g. I. 2. 71; 7. 27. IV. 1. 61; 4. 11, 75. V. 1. 43; 7. 37. P. I. 3. 87; 5. 17; 7. 23, 57. II. 2. 113. III. 8. 5. IV. 2. 15; 8. 43.

The concessive force of 'licet' is strongly marked in M. XV. 62 'isque, licet caeli regione remotos, mente deos adiit'. There it is joined with a participle: cp. T. III. 4. 73 'quamvis longe regione remotus'. Kühner, II. 2. 443.

307. **evolvere**: 238 n.

mollis is used by Ovid, as by Propertius, of erotic poetry, whose subject matter is soft, as distinguished from the rugged themes of epic verse. The contrast is expressed by Prop. III. 1. 19 'mollia, Pegasides, date vestro serta poetae: non faciet capiti dura corona meo'. Thus elegiac lines are here called **mollis**: so inf. 349 'mollia carmina'. Prop. I. 7. 19 'frustra cupies mollem componere versum': so elegiacs are 'molles elegi' P. III. 4. 85, a book of elegiacs is 'mollis liber' Prop. II. 1. 2: so Hermesianax says of Mimnermus, Athen. XIII, p. 597 f. *τὸν ἡδὺν ὃς εὕρετο πολλὸν ἀνατλὰς ἦχον καὶ μαλακοῦ πνεῦμ' ἀπὸ πεντάμετρου.* Conversely epic verse is 'durus'. Prop. II. 1. 41 'nec mea conveniunt duro praecordia versu', and the epic poet 'durus' id. II. 34. 44 'inque tuos ignes, dure poeta, veni'.

The position of **mollis** at the close in agreement with **versus** in the former part of the line is noticeable since, when prosody allows, in the elegiac hexameter Ovid generally places the attribute at the beginning and substantive at the end, as III. 5. 15 'presso pendentia collo'; 51 'totam possum defendere culpam', cp. supr. 79, 295. But the attribute stands at the close (1) as here, for the sake of emphasis; for **mollis** is not a mere ornamental epithet but emphasizes that not

poetry in general but erotic poetry is in question. So A. A. I. 445 'spes tenet in tempus, semel est si credita, longum'. P. I. 6. 33 'haec facit ut, videat cum terras undique nullas'. I. 8. 7 'deque tot expulsis sum miles in exule solus'. II. 5. 25 'dum tamen in rebus temptamus carmina parvis'.

(2) Where the attribute concludes a clause in apposition, which may represent a relative sentence. The arrangement here conforms to that of prose. Lane, Latin Grammar, 2294. H. 6. 33 'vipereos dentes in humum pro semine iactos'; 16. 3 'eloquar, an flammae non est opus indice notae?' 18. 67 'neu referam mores caelesti pectore dignos'; 20. 119 'serventur vultus ad nostra incendia nati'. A. A. I. 195 'cum tibi sint fratres, fratres ulciscere laesos'. T. I. 5. 35 'quo magis, o pauci, rebus succurrite laesis'. II. 205 'fas prohibet Latio quemquam de sanguine natum'. IV. 2. 23 'et cernet vultus aliis pro tempore versos'.

(3) With a case of 'noster', 'vester'. Here the arrangement conforms to that of prose. H. 7. 111 'durat in extremum vitaeque novissima nostrae'. So H. 7. 187; 16. 35. Am. II. 18. 13. A. A. II. 617. III. 509. T. III. 2. 1. V. 3. 43; 9. 15. P. I. 5. 55. II. 8. 25. III. 4. 77. IV. 7. 5; 8. 19.

309. **supercilii . . . severi.** The raising of the eyebrows indicates displeasure, contempt, and austerity. H. 17. 16 'nec sedeo duris torva superciliis'. Verg. Copa 34 'a, pereat cui sunt prisca supercilia'. Mart. XI. 2. 1 'triste supercilium durique severa Catonis frons'. Cic. Pis. 20 'supercilium tuum'.

nudas: to exhibit themselves naked was customary with harlots of the humbler sort. Tac. A. XV. 37 'crepidinibus stagni lupanaria adstabant inlustribus feminis completa, et contra scorta visebantur nudis corporibus'. Dio LXXIX. 13 (Heliogabalus) *γυμνός τε ἀεὶ ἐπὶ τῆς θύρας αὐτοῦ ἑστὼς ὥσπερ αἱ πόρναι.* Petron. 7 'video quosdam inter titulos nudasque meretrices furtim spatiantes'. Iuv. 6. 122; 11. 172.

310. **Veneris**: profligacy, 523. Am. III. 14. 24. A. A. II. 679.

stantis the simple verb used in the sense of the compound 'prostare' (P. II. 3. 20. Iuv. 3. 65; 9. 24) as Am. I. 10. 21 'stat meretrix certo cuivis mercabilis aere'. Hor. Sat. I. 2. 30 'nullam nisi olenti in fornice stantem'. Iuv. 10. 239 'quod steterat multis in carcere fornicis annis'. 11. 172 'nudum olido stans fornice mancipium'. Sen. Contr. I. 2. 5 'meretrix vocata es, in communi loco stetisti'; ibid. 7 'stetisti puella in lupanari . . . stetisti cum meretricibus, stetisti sic ornata, ut populo placere posses, ea veste quam leno dederat'.

311. **Vestales oculi**: 'oculi virginum Vestalium'.

312. By **domino** is meant the 'leno', who is the legal owner of the 'meretrices', whom he has bought and owns as slaves. That such was their condition is clear from the outrageous fallacy in Sen. Ben. VII. 4. 7 'is, inquit, cuius prostitutae sunt, leno est; omnia autem sapientis sunt; inter omnia et prostitutae sunt: ergo prostitutae sapientis sunt. leno autem est, cuius prostitutae sunt: ergo sapiens leno est'. Thus a 'leno' who has bought a 'sacerdos casta' from pirates who had captured her, and keeps her as a 'meretrix', is described as her 'dominus' Sen. Contr. I. 2. 1 'sacerdoti ne purus quidem contigit dominus'; ibid. 11 'viderimus quid in te audere potuerit feritas hostium, libido barbarorum, licentia dominorum'. Am. I. 10. 21 'stat meretrix certo cuivis mercabilis aere, et miseras iusso corpore quaerit opes; devovet inperium tamen haec lenonis

avari'. Iuv. 6. 127 'lenone suas iam dimittente puellas'. 14. 46 'puellae lenonum'. So 'dominus' means the legal owner. H. 20. 150 (Acontius speaking of Cydippe) 'si nescis, dominum res habet ista suum'. M. XIII. 2 'clipei dominus septemplicis'. Nux 87 'felix, secreto quae nata est arbor in arvo et soli domino ferre tributa potest'. Iuv. 3. 231 'unius sese dominum fecisse lacertae'.

Arising from this signification dominus is used for (1) the director of a troop of actors, Plaut. Asin. prol. 3; (2) the director of the company ('factio') which provided the horses, chariots, and other requisites for the Ludi Circenses, Suet. Ner. 5. Plin. N. H. X. 71; (3) the trainer ('lanista') of a troop of gladiators, who stood to them in the relation of a master to his slaves, in virtue of the oath of obedience which they took to him on enlisting in the troop. Petron. 117 'tamquam legitimi gladiatores domino corpora animasque religiosissime addicimus'. In Cic. Att. II. 19. 3 'gladiatoribus qua dominus qua advocati sibilis conscissi' some understand 'dominus' of Caesar as the owner of a troop of gladiators (so Pollack, Pauly-Wissowa, V. 1310); but the interpretation of the passage is disputed; others, as Purser, understand it to mean 'Pompey the tyrant'.

In this line **domino** has been taken to mean (1) the Pontifex Maximus, to whose patria potestas the Vestal Virgins were subject, being admitted as members of the sacred 'familia' by 'mancipatio per aes et libram' (Dict. A. II. 941. Strachan-Davidson, Problems of Roman Criminal Law, I. 30). But, in the absence of any direct support, the expression seems to be too vague to be applied to the Pontifex Maximus.

(2) Others have understood it of the 'editor' of the Ludi Scaenici at the Floralia, originally a plebeian aedile (Varr. Ling. Lat. V. 158. Ov. F. V. 287); later, as in Cicero's case, a curule aedile (In Verr. II. 5. 36), under the empire a praetor (Suet. Galb. 6). In that case the reference would be to the presence as spectators (**cernunt**) at plays of the Vestal Virgins who occupied seats of honour at the theatre. Suet. Aug. 44 'solis virginibus Vestalibus locum in theatro separatim et contra praetoris tribunal dedit'. Tac. A. IV. 16. The theatrical exhibitions in question would be those presented at the Floralia, which were frequented by courtesans, Ov. F. V. 349. These consisted chiefly of mimes, in which 'meretrices' performed in place of the ordinary actresses, and bared their persons at the request of the public. Lactant. Inst. I. 20. 10 'celebrantur ergo illi ludi convenienter memoriae meretricis cum omni lascivia. nam praeter verborum licentiam, quibus obscenitas omnis effunditur, exuuntur etiam vestibus populo flagitante meretrices, quae tunc mimarum funguntur officio, et in conspectu populi usque ad satietatem impudicorum luminum cum pudendis motibus detinentur'. Val. Max. II. 10. 8 'eodem anno Florales, quos Messius aedilis faciebat, spectante, populus, ut mimae nudarentur, postulare erubuit. quod cum ex Favonio, amicissimo sibi, una sedente cognovisset (i. e. Cato), discessit e theatro, ne praesentia sua spectaculi consuetudinem impediret. quem abeuntem ingenti plausu populus prosecutus, priscum morem iocorum in scaenam revocavit'. Seneca, Ep. 97. 8, tells the same story. (On the Floralia see Marquardt, Staatsverw. III. 502. Wissowa, Religion u. Kultus d. Römer, 197). So understood the words **corpora cernunt** gain point. But it is doubtful whether 'dominus' could be used of the 'editor', though it might be applied to the director of the troop of actors, which no one has suggested. As Ovid's language is not sufficiently definite to

imply a technical meaning, it seems to me more natural to understand by **domino** the owner, the leno.

The three conjectures of Heinsius, **nec damno scaenae res ea visa fuit** or **Roscia causa fuit**, and **nec damno aut poenae res ea causa fuit**, apart from other objections to them, are disapproved of by Hilberg, p. 734, on account of their unpleasing spondaic rhythm.

313–38. Two criticisms of the poet's detractors are here dealt with, each in the same fashion, by the soft answer which turns away wrath. (1) The supposed assailant blames the licentious character of the Ars. The criticism is in the form of a question introduced by **at** (277 n.). 'Why', I am asked, 'is my verse licentious? why do I preach to any one the gospel of love?' (313–14). To this Ovid answers that his act cannot be defended; it was a sin and clear guilt; he regrets that he thus misapplied his talent (315–16). (2) The assailant then advances a fresh allegation, again couched in the form of an interrogation introduced by **cur . . . cur**. 'Why', I am asked, 'did I not rather devote myself to writing epic poetry, taking my subject either from Greek conventional legends or from our national Roman history? Here I could have found suitable matter in the achievements of my sovereign Augustus' (317–26). To this Ovid answers with assumed modesty that he did not attempt such compositions because he lacked the requisite ability. Those lofty themes would have been spoiled in his unworthy hands (327–38).

Bentley proposed to expunge the couplet 315–16 because it interrupts the series of three indignant personal questions introduced by **cur**. But the analysis of the thought, as given above, shows that the couplet is not only appropriate but is indispensable, as containing the answer to the first criticisms which is of a different nature and requires a different answer from that given to the second criticism; the one answer is an admission of guilt, the other of want of capacity.

315–16. The same admission of guilt in writing the Ars is made in P. II. 9. 73 'stultam conscripsimus Artem: innocuas nobis haec vetat esse manus. ecquid praeterea peccarim, quaerere noli, ut lateat sola culpa sub Arte mea'.

315. **nil nisi**, 'merely', a combination equivalent to a single adverb. Kühner, II. 2. 414. So supra 249. III. 2. 19 'nil nisi flere libet'. V. 6. 15 'nil nisi me solum primo tutatus es'. 12. 24 'nil nisi cum spinis gramen habebit ager'. H. 13. 22. A. A. III. 27. So 'non nisi', III. 12. 36. IV. 2. 18. 'nec nisi', IV. 1. 72. V. 12. 65. Némethy, without reason, considers **nil nisi** corrupt, and proposes to read 'iam mihi'!

fatenda (L) the predicate, which applies both to **peccatum** and **culpa**, conforms in gender to the nearer substantive, according to ordinary usage: cp. P. I. 6. 25 'quicquid id est, ut non facinus, sic culpa vocanda est'. The construction is 'what is simply a sin and manifest fault must be admitted'.

The reading **fatendum** (GHPV and several MSS.), retained by Heinsius and many editors, is remarkable, as it is less likely to be due to interpolation than **fatenda**. Its interpretation is ambiguous. (1) If, with early editors such as Merula, a comma is placed after **peccatum**, it is possible to construct **nil nisi peccatum** (est), **manifestaque c. f. est** 'That is simply a sin, and the manifest fault must be admitted'. (2) If, with Loers, the line be punctuated **nil nisi peccatum manifestaque culpa: fatendum est** the meaning is 'That is simply a sin and a manifest fault: I must admit it'. In that

case the clause with the gerundive standing by itself is like I. 1. 21 'atque ita tu tacitus (quaerenti plura legendum) ne, quae non opus est, forte loquare, cave'.

But (3) it would agree better with Latin usage to understand the gerundive as predicate both with **peccatum** and **culpa**, though in that case the ordinary principle is violated by which the predicate conforms in gender to the nearer substantive. It is true that where there is more than one subject the gender of the predicate is sometimes regulated by that of the remoter subject: a list of instances is given by Kühner, II. 1. 53. But in such cases that is largely due to the predominance of the masculine over the feminine and feminine over the neuter gender; as (a) masculine Varr. R. R. I. 57. 1 'parietes et solum opere tectorio marmorato loricandi'. Cic. Sest. 113 'prae se populus R. ferebat sibi illum in tribunatu Cn. Domiti animum constantem et egregium et Q. Anchari fidem ac fortitudinem, etiam si nihil agere potuissent, tamen voluntate ipsa gratum fuisse'. Nat. Deor. I. 82. (b) feminine Lucan 1. 176 'hinc leges et plebis scita coactae'. There is a residuum of instances which cannot be explained thus. The closest parallels to the present case are Cic. de Or. III. 185 'dithyrambus, cuius membra et pedes sunt in omni locupleti oratione diffusa'. Sall. Iug. 17. 2 'quae loca et nationes . . . frequentata sunt'. Such violation is, however, commoner where the predicate is in the accusative, as Cic. Vatin. 14 'cum denuntiaris tuis actionibus augurum responsa atque eius conlegi adrogantiam impedimento non futura'. Off. I. 14. Fam. X. 25. 1.

It is, however, unlikely that Ovid should have broken the ordinary usage in so harsh and unnecessary a manner. The idea of Merkel that by adapting the gender of the gerundive to **peccatum** he wished to suggest that he was guilty of a 'peccatum' rather than a 'culpa' is fanciful and improbable. 'Peccatum' (ἁμάρτημα) is 'a wrong act', 'a fault' 'culpa' is 'moral guilt'. See Holden on Cic. Off. III. 73.

316. **iudicii**, 'resolve', deliberate decision to write on the subject. IV. 10. 40 'et petere Aoniae suadebant tuta sorores otia, iudicio semper amata meo. H. 4. 39 'iam mihi prima dea est arcu praesignis adunco Delia: iudicium subsequor ipsa tuum'. 21. 137 'consilium prudensque animi sententia iurat, et nisi iudicii vincula nulla valent'. M. VIII. 705 'cum Baucide pauca locutus iudicium superis aperit commune Philemon'. Plin. VIII. 24. 9 'iudicio missus'.

317–20. The ambitious themes of the Trojan war and the expedition of the Seven against Thebes are contrasted with the humbler matter of the elegiac poet in Am. II. 18. 1–4 'carmen ad iratum dum tu perducis Achillen primaque iuratis induis arma viris, nos, Macer, ignava Veneris cessamus in umbra, et tener ausuros grandia frangit Amor', so Propertius I. 7. 1–6 'dum tibi Cadmeae dicuntur, Pontice, Thebae armaque fraternae tristia militiae, atque, ita sim felix, primo contendis Homero, sint modo fata tuis mollia carminibus: nos, ut consuemus, nostros agitamus amores atque aliquid duram quaerimus in dominam'. Cp. Am. III. 12. 15 'cum Thebe, cum Troia foret, cum Caesaris acta, ingenium movit sola Corinna meum'. Cp. Manil. III. 15.

317. **Argolicis**: Greek, as often in poetry (I. 1. 83. H. 1. 25; 6. 80. M. VIII. 267), since the Argives formed the predominant part of the Greek forces against Troy.

318. **vexata**: attack, i. e. describe the siege of Troy. Hor. Carm. IV. 9. 18 'non semel Ilios vexata'.

319–20. The attack by a distinct chieftain on each of the seven gates

of Thebes and their defence by seven chieftains of the besieged, and the death by mutual slaughter of Eteocles and Polynices is described by Aeschylus in the Septem. The legend, the subject of the Ionic epic poem the Cyclic Thebais, Kinkel, Epic. Graec. Fragmenta, p. 9, appeared in tragic drama in the Oedipus Coloneus and Antigone of Sophocles, and Phoenissae of Euripides. It was treated by Callimachus, probably in the Aetia, Schneider, Callimachea, II. 626. Ov. T. V. 5. 33 sqq., and in Latin by Statius in his epic poem the Thebais.

319. **vulnera mutua fratrum**: the conflict of Eteocles and Polynices who killed one another, Aesch. Sept. 820 *βασιλέοιν δ' ὁμοσπόροιν πέπωκεν αἷμα γαῖ' ὑπ' ἀλλήλων φόνῳ*: ibid. 805. Soph. O. C. 1373 *αἵματι πεσεῖ μιανθεὶς χὠ σύναιμος ἐξ ἴσου*: ibid. 1387. Eur. Phoen. 1423 *γαῖαν δ' ὀδὰξ ἑλόντες ἀλλήλων πέλας πίπτουσιν ἄμφω.*

The reading **vulnera mutua** is that of L and the Leiden MS., for which most MSS. have **mutua vulnera**. The position of the adjective following its substantive is unusual. The expression in the order 'mutua vulnera' is common: M. III. 123. VII. 141. XIV. 771. Stat. Theb. VIII. 415. IX. 566: cp. Verg. Aen. X. 755 'mutua funera'. Here **mutua** is placed next to the genitive **fratrum** in close connexion with it to emphasize that the wounds were inflicted reciprocally by the brothers: cp. for the inverted order Hor. Carm. III. 9. 13 'me torret face mutua Thurini Calais filius Ornyti'. IV. 1. 30 'spes animi credula mutui'. Stat. Theb. X. 377 'signa mutua'.

The expression **vulnera mutua fratrum** (cp. M. IX. 405 'pares in vulnere fratres') is imitated by Manilius IV. 83 'mutuaque armati coeunt in vulnera fratres'. Other apparent imitations of the Tristia by Manilius are: I. 329 'tunc silvas et saxa trahens (Orpheus)'. T. IV. 1. 17 'cum traheret silvas Orpheus et dura canendo saxa'. I. 411 (Canicula) 'tingitur oceano'. T. I. 4. 1 'tingitur oceano custos Erymanthidos ursae'. II. 165 'dissimile est illis iter in contraria versis'. T. I. 3. 75 'sic doluit Mettus tunc cum in contraria versos . . . habuit equos'. IV. 616 'faucesque Propontidos artas Euxino iungit ponto'. T. 1. 10. 31 'quaeque tenent Ponti Byzantia litora fauces'. V. 184 'Actaeon . . . canibus nova praeda fuit'. T. II. 106 'Actaeon . . . praeda fuit canibus suis'. I. 583 'ultima designat fulgentis lumina solis' is probably a reminiscence of inf. 325 'radiantia lumina solis', and of 'lumina solis' in M. I. 135, 767. Manilius V. 176 'te, Meleagre, colunt flammis absentibus ustum' is based on Ov. Ibis 598 'natus ut Althaeae flammis absentibus arsit'. F. V. 305 'respice Thestiaden: flammis absentibus arsit'. These reminiscences indicate that, whatever be the date of Manilius, his poem is subsequent to the publication of the Tristia, the last book of which appeared A.D. 12, Schanz II. 1. 329.

320. **portas sub duce quamque suo**: Aesch. Sept. 55 *κληρουμένους . . . ὡς πάλῳ λαχὼν ἕκαστος αὐτῶν πρὸς πύλας ἄγοι λόχον.*

322. **et**: 303 n.

patriae facta: the achievements of my countrymen. **facta** is usually applied to the achievements of individuals as Verg. Aen. VIII. 288 'laudes Herculeas et facta'. X. 282 'magna referte facta, patrum laudes'. Hor. Sat. I. 10. 43 'regum facta'.

323. **meritis**: deserving deeds, services. H. 9. 16 'inplesti meritis solis utramque domum'. M. XII. 545 'ille quidem maiora fide di! gessit et orbem inplevit meritis'.

inpleveris: the ending -ris in the second person singular is in the

future perfect naturally short, in the perfect subjunctive naturally long, since the latter is an optative formation. Lindsay, Latin Language, p. 500. But in poetical usage the two terminations were early confounded, and the ending in either case is treated indifferently as long or short. In dactylic verse it is (a) short, in thesis, when the antepenultimate is long, a convenient dactyl being thus obtained; (b) long, in arsis, chiefly when two short syllables precede the ending.

The instances of (a) short final are mainly future perfect: in Ovid 'videris' H. 20. 89. T. V. 2. 43 ('viderit' codd.). P. I. 2. 9 ('viderit' codd.). 'veneris' Am. I. 4. 13. Rem. 506. 'senseris' A. A. I. 716. 'correxeris' T. V. 13. 13. 'permiseris' P. III. 6. 57. 'reseraveris' P. IV. 4. 23; 'egeris' ibid. 39: in other writers 'recesseris' Lucret. I. 410. 'accesseris' Verg. Aen. III. 441. 'videris' G. III. 465. 'vocaveris' G. I. 157. 'suspexeris' G. IV. 59. 'iuveris' Hor. S. II. 4. 91. 'acceperis' S. II. 3. 67. 'vitaveris, detorseris' S. II. 2. 54, 55. Other instances in Neue, Formenlehre, II. 510.

Of the perfect subjunctive **impleveris** in this line is the only example in Ovid: in other writers there are the following undoubted examples: 'videris' Verg. G. IV. 414 'qualem videris, incepto tegeret cum lumina somno'. 'adveneris' Aen. I. 388 'invisus caelestibus auras vitalis carpis, Tyriam qui adveneris urbem'. 'dixeris' Hor. S. I. 4. 40–1 'neque enim concludere versum dixeris esse satis'. II. 6. 39 'dixeris "experiar"'. II. 3. 220 'ne dixeris'. In the following passages, expressing prohibitions, the tense is also perfect subjunctive. Verg. Ec. 8. 102 'transque caput iace, nec respexeris'. Aen. X. 33 'luant peccata neque illos iuveris auxilio'. Hor. Carm. I. 18. 1 'nullam, Vare, sacra vite prius severis arborem'. Prop. II. 30. 33 'nec tu virginibus reverentia moveris ora: hic quoque non nescit quid sit amare, chorus'. In the last passage Rothstein takes 'moveris' as fut. perf., but it is better regarded as perf. subj., as in the other passages cited, the meaning being not 'you will not' but 'do not speak with reserve before the Muses, for they also know what love is'.

Of (b) long final syllable Ovid has of future perfect: 'reddideris' Am. I. 4. 31. 'biberis' Am. I. 4. 32. 'abstuleris' Am. I. 8. 101. 'praestiteris' Am. I. 8. 105. Rem. 635. 'nescieris' A. A. I. 222. 'attuleris' A. A. II. 280. 'fueris' F. II. 674. 'afueris' Rem. 247. 'quaesieris' M. XIII. 756. 'perdideris' M. XV. 94. 'contuleris' P. IV. 10. 21. 'dederis' A. A. I. 447. F. I. 17. VI. 215. 'vitaris' H. 13. 67, the solitary spondaic instance in Ovid: cp. Hor. Carm. III. 23. 3 'si ture placaris et horna'. Perfect subjunctive: 'credideris' H. 21. 189. P. I. 8. 29. IV. 9. 101. 'dederis' Am. II. 2. 16. T. V. 5. 40; 13. 9. 'audieris' M. X. 560. The following are spondaic: 'noris' F. I. 116. T. IV. 10. 2. 'temptaris' A. A. I. 389 'aut non temptaris aut perfice'. For 'non' with prohibitive subjunctive Kühner, II. 1. 192. Catull. 66. 91 'non siris' ('uestris' codd.). For examples in other writers see Neue, Formenlehre, II. 509. The lengthening is occasionally found in thesis: Priap. 83. 41 'senseris'. Sen. Thyest. 1105 'hauseris'. See further Kühner, I. 116. In Ov. H. 10. 126 the text is doubtful. Palmer, following the traces of the Puteaneus, reads 'cum steteris urbis celsus in arce tuae', probably rightly. This offers another example of such lengthening.

324. **una de**: V. 3. 44. H. 5. 82. F. II. 240.

325. **lumina solis**: 319 n.

326. **traxissent**: ought to have attracted. Jussive subj. of advice

applicable to circumstances no longer existing. H. 10. 77 'me quoque, qua fratrem, mactasses, inprobe, clava'. M. V. 26 'quae si tibi magna videntur, ex illis scopulis, ubi erant adfixa, petisses'. Verg. Aen. IV. 678 'eadem me ad fata vocasses: idem ambas ferro dolor atque eadem hora tulisset'. X. 854 'omnis per mortis animam sontem ipse dedissem'. XI. 162 'animam ipse dedissem atque haec pompa domum me, non Pallanta, referret'.

327–8. Ovid now answers the criticism that he should have devoted his talent to epic poetry, celebrating some Greek or some national theme, such as the exploits of Augustus. He replies that his range of capacity is too limited for so ample a subject.

The language of the couplet is metaphorical; the metaphors, which are taken from agriculture, are sustained throughout. The field (**campus**) of poetry which Ovid cultivates (**aratur**) is unfertile in matter (**tenuis**): the labour (**opus**) suggested involves dealing with rich abundance of matter (**fertilitatis**).

tenuis is antithetical to **magnae fertilitatis**. The word **tenuis** is used of poor land by Varro, R. R. I. 23. 2 'neque in pingui terra omnia seruntur recte neque in macra nihil. rectius enim in tenuiore terra ea quae non multo indigent suco', from which it appears that **tenuis** was applied to land deficient in moisture and productivity. Cp. Verg. Geor. II. 180 'tenuis ubi argilla et dumosis calculus arvis'. Corp. Gloss. L. II. 197. 1 tenuis ἰσχνός. The same idea P. IV. 2. 15 'nec tamen ingenium nobis respondet, ut ante, sed siccum sterili vomere litus aro'.

fertilitatis does not signify richness of talent, fertility of invention. Though most commentators explain it thus, comparing 335 'divitis ingenii', such a sense of **fertilitas** lacks support. It means rather 'richness of matter', and relates properly to productiveness of land. Cic. de Divin. I. 131 'vel sterilitas agrorum vel fertilitas'. Moreover **opus** is used specifically of agricultural labour, particularly that of ploughing, thus continuing the metaphor of **aratur**. Varro, R. R. I. 2. 20 'pecudes quae agrum opere, quo cultior sit, adiuvare possunt'. II. 5. 3 'taurus socius hominum in rustico opere'. Ter. Eun. 220 'opus faciam, ut defatiger usque, ingratiis ut dormiam'. Verg. Geor. II. 472. Aen. IX. 607 'patiens operum'. Geor. III. 519 'arator opere in medio defixa relinquit aratra'.

magnae fertilitatis: gen. of quality, as 309 'supercilii matrona severi'. H. 3. 119 'acutae cuspidis hastam'. M. I. 98 'non tuba directi, non aeris cornua flexi'. X. 537 'tutaeque animalia praedae'. So probably Am. III. 6. 21 'non eris invidiae, torrens, mihi crede, ferendae', and M. X. 628 'non erit invidiae victoria nostra ferendae', though Némethy on Am. l. c. understands these as dative, and Magnus on Met. l. c. as possessive genitive. The genitive of quality is similar in Iuv. 13. 148 'pocula adorandae robiginis'.

The meaning of the couplet is quaintly but correctly given by Zachary Catlin (1639):

> The blame is causeless, for that spacious field
> Requires more stock than my poor farm would yield.

329–30. The metaphor by which the art of the elegiac poet is compared to a light skiff, which is too frail to voyage on the ocean of epic poetry, is probably suggested by Prop. III. 3. 22 'non est ingenii cumba gravanda tui. alter remus aquas, alter tibi radat harenas:

tutus eris. medio maxima turba mari est'. III. 9. 3 'quid me scribendi tam vastum mittis in aequor? non sunt apta meae grandia vela rati'. Cp. Hor. Carm. IV. 15. 1 'Phoebus volentem proelia me loqui victas et urbes increpuit lyra, ne parva Tyrrhenum per aequor vela darem'. On the other hand, speaking of his own Metamorphoses, Ovid says M. XV. 176 'magno feror aequore plenaque ventis vela dedi'. Pindar had already spoken of the οὖρος ὕμνων and ἐπέων Pyth. 4. 3. Nem. 6. 29. Cp. inf. 548 'saepe dedi nostrae grandia vela rati', and for the poet's ship supr. 100. Virgil has the same metaphor G. II. 41 foll.

cumba: a pleasure boat. Ovid was probably thinking of the gaily painted pleasure boats of the fashionable watering-place Baiae, where boating parties on the Lucrine lake formed one of the chief amusements. Sen. Ep. 51. 12 'tot genera cumbarum variis coloribus picta et fluitantem toto lacu rosam'. Prop. I. 11. 9 'atque utinam mage te, remis confisa minutis, parvula Lucrina cumba moretur aqua'. Iuv. 12. 80 'interiora petit Baianae pervia cumbae tuti stagna lacus'. Cic. Cael. 35.

331–2. The technical phraseology used by Ovid with regard to verse deserves attention. The word **numerus** (ῥυθμός) denotes rhythm, viz. modulated combination of sounds in prose and verse alike, providing a proper mixture of short and long syllables and a regular succession of beats, with the object of producing an effect pleasing to the ear: **modus** (μέτρον) signifies the arrangement of the syllables in the verse, so that the lines are measured into feet in conformity with fixed laws. Rhythm implies regularity of stress, with a general uniformity as regards the amount of long and short syllables, metre demands regularity as regards the feet employed. Cic. Orat. 66 'poetae quaestionem attulerunt, quidnam esset illud, quo ipsi differant ab oratoribus; numero maxime videbantur antea et versu; nunc apud oratores iam ipse numerus increbruit: quicquid est enim, quod sub aurium mensuram aliquam cadat, etiamsi abest a versu (nam id quidem orationis est vitium) numerus vocatur, qui Graece ῥυθμός dicitur'. Quintil. Inst. Or. IX. 4. 45 'omnis structura ac dimensio et copulatio vocum constat aut numeris (numeros ῥυθμοὺς accipi volo) aut μέτροις, id est dimensione quadam. quod etiamsi constat utrumque pedibus, habet tamen non simplicem differentiam. nam rhythmi, id est numeri, spatio temporum constant, metra etiam ordine: ideoque alterum esse quantitatis ("amount") videtur, alterum qualitatis' ('what sort of feet are used'). . . . 48 'sunt hi et metrici pedes: sed hoc interest, quod rhythmo indifferens est, dactylusne ille priores habeat breves, an sequentes. tempus enim solum metitur, ut a sublatione ad positionem idem spatii sit'.

The two words are often, as here, used in combination. Cic. de Or. III. 184 'curam diligentiamque poetarum, quos necessitas cogit et ipsi numeri ac modi sic verba versu includere, ut nihil sit ne spiritu quidem minimo brevius aut longius, quam necesse est'. Hor. A. P. 211 'accessit numerisque modisque licentia maior'. Ep. II. 2. 144 (metaphorical) 'verae numerosque modosque ediscere vitae'. Ov. Am. I. 1. 1 'arma gravi numero violentaque bella parabam edere, materia conveniente modis'. T. IV. 10. 24 'scribere temptabam verba soluta modis. sponte sua carmen numeros veniebat ad aptos, et quod temptabam dicere versus erat'.

When standing alone **numeri** (the pl. is usual) means the rhythm of the heroic hexameter or the elegiac couplet, and so the hexameter or couplet themselves. Sometimes (1) it signifies both: Rem.

381 'Callimachi numeris non est dicendus Achilles'. P. IV. 2. 30 'nec numeris nectere verba iuvat'; 8. 73 'nam modo bella geris, numeris modo verba coerces'; 16. 11 'quique vel inparibus numeris, Montane, vel aequis sufficis, et gemino carmine nomen habes'. More often (2) the elegiac couplet only is signified. Am. I. 1. 19 'nec mihi materia est numeris levioribus apta'. III. 1. 28 'primaque per numeros acta iuventa suos'. F. II. 6 'cum lusit numeris prima iuventa suis'. P. II. 5. 1 'condita disparibus numeris ego Naso Salano praeposita misi verba salute meo'. Am. III. 1. 37 'inparibus tamen es numeris dignata moveri'. I. 15. 28 'discentur numeri, culte Tibulle, tui'. P. IV. 2. 5 'orba tamen numeris cessavit epistula numquam ire per alternas officiosa vices'. T. IV. 1. 87 'et tamen ad numeros antiquaque sacra reverti sustinet in tantis hospita Musa malis'. P. II. 5. 69 'utque meis numeris tua dat facundia nervos'. P. IV. 14. 2 'questus non aptum numeris nomen habere meis'. So probably Verg. Aen. IX. 776 'numerosque intendere nervis' 'to set songs to music on the lyre'. Sometimes (3) **numeri** means the rhythm of music. F. II. 109 'flebilibus numeris veluti canentia dura traiectus pinna tempora cantat olor'. So Verg. Ec. 9. 45 'numeros ('the air') memini, si verba tenerem'. Prop. II. 22. 16 'Phrygis insanos caeditur ad numeros'. Sometimes (4) the rhythm of music and dancing combined. Rem. 753 'enervant animos citharae lotosque lyraeque et vox et numeris brachia mota suis'. Verg. Aen. VI. 646 'obloquitur numeris septem discrimina vocum' 'accompanies the beat of their dance and song with the seven different notes of the lyre' (Nettleship). Thus 'in numerum' means 'in rhythm, in time'. T. IV. 1. 10 'in numerum pulsa brachia pulsat aqua'. Verg. Ec. 6. 27 'in numerum Faunosque ferasque videres ludere'. G. IV. 175. Aen. VIII. 453. Lucret. II. 631.

By **modi** (also usually pl.) is signified (1) metre, verse, as inf. 412 'suis modis' 'in his verse'. 432 'variis modis' 'in various metres'. 538 'bucolicis modis'. IV. 10. 24 'verba soluta modis'. It is applied specially to the elegiac couplet sup. 220 'inparibus carmina facta modis'. P. IV. 16. 36 'clauderet inparibus verba Capella modis'. Am. II. 1. 4 'non estis teneris apta theatra modis'. F. VI. 22 'ause per exiguos magna referre modos'. P. IV. 13. 20 'structaque sunt nostris barbara verba modis'. Prop. III. 9. 44 'cecinisse modis, Dore poeta, tuis'. It is used (2) of a single line in Am. II. 17. 21 'carminis hoc ipsum genus inpar; sed tamen apte iungitur herous cum breviore modo'. It is used also (3) of music. A. A. III. 318 'Niliacis carmina lusa modis'. Ibis 452 'seces ad Phrygios vilia membra modos'. F. IV. 214 'tibia dat Phrygios, ut dedit ante, modos'. I. 444 'aves quae . . . facili dulces editis ore modos'. Thus in Hor. Ep. I. 18. 59 'extra numerum modumque' means 'out of time and tune'.

Ovid's use of **pes** also deserves notice. Sometimes it means (1) a 'foot' in the prosodial sense. T. V. 12. 34 'inque suos volui cogere verba pedes'. Am. I. 1. 30 'Musa, per undenos emodulanda pedes' 'to be regulated by alternate lines of eleven feet'. P. III. 3. 30 'apposui senis te duce quinque pedes'. Rem. 377 'liber in adversos hostes stringatur iambus, seu celer, extremum seu trahat ille pedem', of the scazon, whose last foot is a spondee. F. II. 568 'quot habent carmina nostra pedes'. So Hor. Sat. I. 4. 7 'mutatis tantum pedibus numerisque'. 47 'nisi quod pede certo differt sermoni, sermo merus'. 10. 1 'incomposito pede'. 43 'pede ter percusso'. 59 'pedibus quid claudere senis'. II. 1. 28. Ep. I. 19. 28 'temperat Archilochi musam

pede mascula Sappho' (i.e. trochaics and iambics). A. P. 80, 252. Sometimes (2) a 'line', the two lines of the elegiac couplet being fancifully regarded as the two feet on which the metre is supported. Am. III. 1. 7 'venit odoratos Elegeia nexa capillos, et, puto, pes illi longior alter erat'. P. IV. 5. 3 'ite, leves elegi . . . nec vos pedibus proceditis aequis'. T. III. 1. 56 'aspicis alternos intremuisse pedes', i.e. changing every other line; cp. H. 15. 5 'alterna carmina', F. II. 121 'alterno pectine'. T. III. 7. 10 'aptaque in alternos cogere verba pedes'. Sometimes (3) 'metre'. Rem. 373 'fortia Maeonio gaudent pede bella referri'. F. II. 125 'quid volui demens elegis inponere tantum ponderis? heroi res erat ista pedis'. T. I. 1. 16 'contingam certe quo licet illa pede' (a play on the word). III. 1. 11 'clauda quod alterno subsidunt carmina versu, vel pedis hoc ratio vel via longa facit'. Ibis 44 'non soleant quamvis hoc pede bella geri'. 642 'pede quo debent acria bella geri'. P. III. 4. 87 'quo pede nunc utar, dubia est sententia nobis'. IV. 12. 5 'lex pedis officio fortunaque nominis obstat'. Hor. Carm. IV. 6. 35 'Lesbium servate pedem' (the sapphic metre).

331. **hoc**, i.q. de hac re **dubitem**, accusative of extent: H. 17. 37 'hoc quoque enim dubito'. Ter. Ad. 691 'haec dum dubitas'. Verg. Aen. IX. 191. Rosc. Am. 88.

levioribus, 'lighter' in rhythm, i.e. elegiacs as contrasted with the dignified rhythm ('gravi numero' Am. I. 1. 1) of heroic hexameters. Am. I. 1. 19 'numeris levioribus'. II. 1. 21 'blanditias elegosque levis'. P. IV. 5. 1 'leves elegi'.

332. **parvos**, 'insignificant', trifling in matter and short in extent in contrast with heroic hexameters. Hor. A. P. 77 'exiguos elegos'. Rem. 715 'exiguum est, quod deinde canam'. P. II. 5. 25 'dum tamen in rebus temptamus carmina parvis, materiae gracili sufficit ingenium'.

in denotes the result to attaining which a person is suited, taking the place of the dative found in P. IV. 16. 11 'vel inparibus numeris, Montane, vel aequis sufficis'. So Am. II. 7. 1 'ergo sufficiam reus in nova crimina semper' ('shall I be the subject for charges')? This use of **in** is frequent in Ovid. So 288, 342 with 'ingeniosus', IV. 3. 84 'patet in laudes area lata meas'. H. 1. 72 'patet in curas area lata meas'. T. IV. 7. 3 'tua dextera versus quamlibet in paucos officiosa fuit'. V. 7. 28 'Musa nec in plausus ambitiosa mea est'. H. 4. 16 'figat sic animos in mea vota tuos' ('to yield to your prayers').

333. **Gigantas**: see Introd. IV. 63 foll.

334. **dicere**: recount in verse. 555. I. 2. 103. A. A. I. 209.

debilitabit: 33 n. Cp. P. II. 5. 27 'nuper, ut huc magni pervenit fama triumphi, ausus sum tantae sumere molis opus. obruit audentem rerum gravitasque nitorque, nec potui coepti pondera ferre mei'.

335. **divitis**: abundant. Hor. Ep. II. 2. 121 'Latiumque beabit divite lingua'.

inmania: stupendous. M. IX. 247 'ipsius datis hoc inmanibus actis', of the deeds of Hercules. Vellei. II. 46 'cum deinde inmanis res vix multis voluminibus explicandas C. Caesar in Gallia ageret'. **Inmanis** is explained 'egregius'. C. L. G. II. 584 "ἐξαίσιος, παμμεγέθης": ibid. II. 84.

acta: illustrious deeds, especially military achievements. Am. III. 12. 15 'cum Thebe, cum Troia foret, cum Caesaris acta, ingenium movit sola Corinna meum'. M. XV. 750 'neque enim de Caesaris actis ullum maius opus'. 852 'hic sua praeferri quamquam vetat acta paternis'.

336. **condere**: describe. F. VI. 24 'cum placuit numeris condere festa tuis'. P. IV. 10. 75 'conditur a te vir tanto, quanto debuit ore cani'. It is used in the slightly different sense of to compose verse, to 'build the lofty rhyme' 'condere carmen, carmina' Lucret. V. 2. Hor. Ep. I. 3. 24. A. P. 436: so 'condere verba' P. II. 5. 1. 'Phaeacida' P. IV. 12. 27. 'Iliadas' Prop. II. 1. 14.

superetur: be inferior to. M. II. 5 'materiam superabat opus', of the palace of the Sun in which the workmanship was finer than the material.

337. **ausus eram** refers to his Gigantomachia. Introduction, IV. 69.

detrectare: belittle, depreciate. IV. 10. 123 'qui detrectat praesentia Livor'. Rem. 365 'ingenium magni Livor detrectat Homeri'. M. V. 246 'detrectas etiam laudem'. XIII. 270 'neque enim benefacta maligne detrectare meum est'. For the thought cp. Hor. Carm. I. 6. 9 'conamur tenues grandia, dum pudor inbellisque lyrae Musa potens vetat laudes egregii Caesaris et tuas culpa deterere ingeni'.

Here and in IV. 10. 123 the MSS. are divided between the spellings **detrectare** and **detractare**. Good authority exists for each, Georges, Wortformen, p. 210, but, as here, **delectare**, the reading of **L**, which does not contain IV. 10, indicates **detrectare**, that spelling appears preferable.

338. **damno esse**: cause damage to, a common phrase in Ovid, inf. 492. H. 17. 39, 169. Am. I. 10. 35. M. II. 540. X. 339.

viribus: military prowess. Verg. Aen. VII. 257 'huic progeniem virtute futuram egregiam, et totum quae viribus occupet orbem'.

339–40 refers to the Amores, to the completion of which Ovid returned, after abandoning the Gigantomachia which he had begun. The Amores were his **iuvenalia carmina**, the poems of his early manhood. IV. 10. 57 'carmina cum primum populo iuvenalia legi, barba resecta mihi bisve semelve fuit'. V. 1. 7 'integer et laetus laeta et iuvenalia lusi'. P. III. 3. 29 'tu mihi dictasti iuvenalia carmina primus'. The meaning of 'iuvenalis' is fixed by F. III. 437 'Iuppiter est iuvenis: iuvenalis aspice vultus'.

The words **falso movi pectus amore** refer to the mistresses, especially Corinna, celebrated in the Amores with 'pretended, imaginary (**falso**, cp. A. A. I. 618 "fiet amor verus, qui modo falsus erat") passion'. Cp. IV. 10. 59 'moverat ingenium totam cantata per urbem nomine non vero dicta Corinna mihi'. Am. III. 12. 15 'cum Thebe, cum Troia foret, cum Caesaris acta, ingenium movit sola Corinna meum'. As in those two parallel passages, so here **movi** means 'aroused'; cp. Am. III. 1. 59 'prima tuae movi felicia semina mentis', and the same parallels indicate that **pectus** here expresses what there is called 'ingenium', the 'intellect' or 'genius', as often III. 7. 19 'ergo si remanent ignes tibi pectoris idem, sola tuum vates Lesbia vincet opus'. V. 12. 1 'scribis, ut oblectem studio lacrimabile tempus, ne pereant turpi pectora nostra situ'. P. IV. 12. 15 'his ego si vitiis ausim corrumpere nomen, ridear et merito pectus habere neger'. M. VI. 472 'quantum mortalia pectora caecae noctis habent!' XV. 479 'talibus atque aliis instructo pectore dictis'. Sometimes it signifies more widely the 'soul', comprising both the mental faculties and the emotions: M. XIII. 290 'rudis et sine pectore miles'. Hor. Ep. I. 4. 6 'non tu corpus eras sine pectore'. Quintil. X. 7. 15. Sometimes the 'heart', the seat of emotion. M. VII. 28 'certe mea pectora movit'.

Who Corinna was, whether in fact she was a real person, is a subject

of controversy. If she really existed, Ovid and the lady guarded their secret with such discretion that false claims to identity with Corinna were set up while the Amores was still incomplete: Am. II. 17. 29 'novi aliquam, quae se circumferat esse Corinnam: ut fiat, quid non illa dedisse velit?' and, when the Ars Amatoria appeared about twelve years after the Amores, the real name of Corinna was still unknown: A. A. III. 538 'et multi, quae sit nostra Corinna, rogant'.

Corinna seems to have been regarded as a real person by Martial, V. 10. 10 'norat Nasonem sola Corinna suum'. VIII. 73. 9 'non me Paeligni nec spernet Mantua vatem, siqua Corinna mihi, siquis Alexis erit'; and by Apollinaris Sidonius, who not only imagined her capping verses with Ovid, Ep. II. 10. 6 'reminiscere quod saepe versum Corinna cum suo Nasone complevit', but even identified her with the emperor's profligate daughter Julia, Carm. 23. 158 'et te carmina per libidinosa notum, Naso tener, Tomosque missum, quondam Caesareae nimis puellae ficto nomine subditum Corinnae'. This is probably a mere conjecture. It is unlikely that Ovid, an unknown youth, could have secured the favour of a princess of the imperial family, and still more unlikely, if that had been the case, that writing in exile after his disgrace he could have ventured to refer to her as Corinna, T. IV. 10. 60. Plessis, La Poésie latine, pp. 438 ff., holds that there is no sufficient reason to deny the existence of Corinna, about whose reality the ancients never doubted, and argues ingeniously that the incidents of Ovid's intrigues are so life-like that they cannot be merely conventional situations borrowed from literature, any more than the poet Tibullus, the subject of the elegy, Am. III. 9, is a conventional creation of the imagination and not the real poet whose works have survived.

On the other hand, it is significant that although the real names, which were concealed under pseudonyms, of the mistresses of Catullus, Ticidas, Propertius, and Tibullus, are recorded by the communicative Apuleius, he is silent about Ovid's Corinna, whose identity, if he had known it, he would have naturally revealed. Apul. Ap. 10 'eadem igitur opera accusent C. Catullum, quod Lesbiam pro Clodia nominarit, et Ticidam similiter, quod quae Metella erat Perillam scripserit, et Propertium, qui Cynthiam dicat, Hostiam dissimulet, et Tibullum, quod ei sit Plania in animo, Delia in versu'. It is safest to conclude that Corinna existed only in the poet's fancy; so Schanz, Röm. Litt. II. 1. 273. Némethy, Ovidi Amores, pp. 96 ff. Brandt, Ov. Amores, p. 33. Némethy's careful examination of the sources of the Amores shows that, whereas Gallus, Tibullus, and Propertius celebrated real women as their mistresses, and merely adorned their poems with poetical embellishments culled from Greek poets, the course pursued by Ovid in his Amores was different. His inspiration is drawn from his literary reading rather than his experience. The scenes and events he describes are conventional situations suggested, rarely by the Greek poets directly, generally by the poetry of his predecessors Tibullus, Lygdamus, Horace, Catullus, and, above all, Propertius: and his mistresses, no less than his incidents, appear to be borrowed and fictitious. In this passage Ovid himself, who was no mean critic, bears out this interpretation of the Amores. The words (343–4) **ei mihi, quod didici! cur me docuere parentes, litteraque est oculos ulla morata meos?** may indicate that his work was the product of the study of literary models, the words (340) **falso movi pectus amore meum** that Corinna was no real being. It has been well said that 'Corinna is an epitome of many women', and the Amores 'are the

author's studies in varying moods of love' (Wight Duff, Literary History of Rome, p. 588).

The attributive adjective **falso** is placed not only before its substantive, but for emphasis as far as possible before it; so 576 'cum longo poenae tempore victus eris'. I. 11. 24 'quam dubia timeo mente timensque precor'. Hilberg, p. 44.

Merkel and Loers interpret the **iuvenalia carmina**, l. 339, to which Ovid returned, to be the Ars Amatoria, and **falso amore** is explained by Merkel as the 'deceitful love' preached by Ovid in the Ars Amatoria, whose subject is the art of deception. But it seems more natural to understand **rursus veni** of returning to something he had already started (the Amores), as I explain it, than of beginning a fresh work (the Ars Amatoria), though its style was similar to the Amores. The line of thought in this passage is paralleled and illustrated by P. III. 3. 29–52:

tu mihi dictasti iuvenalia carmina primus:
  apposui senis te duce quinque pedes. 30
nec me Maeonio consurgere carmine, nec me
  dicere magnorum passus es acta ducum.
forsitan exiguas, aliquas tamen, arcus et ignes
  ingenii vires comminuere mei.
namque ego dum canto tua regna tuaeque parentis, 35
  in nullum mea mens grande vacavit opus.
nec satis hoc fuerat. stulto quoque carmine feci
  Artibus ut posses non rudis esse meis.
pro quibus exilium misero est mihi reddita merces,
  id quoque in extremis et sine pace locis. 40
. . . . . .
nomina neu referam longum collecta per aevum, 45
  discipulo perii solus ab ipse meo.
dum damus arma tibi, dum te, lascive, docemus,
  haec te discipulo dona magister habet.
scis tamen, et liquido iuratus dicere possis,
  non me legitimos sollicitasse toros. 50
scrípsimus haec illis, quarum nec vitta pudicos
  contingit crines, nec stola longa pedes.

There in l. 29 the Amores are mentioned first as his 'iuvenalia carmina' corresponding to the **iuvenalia carmina** here l. 339: there ll. 31–2 the attempted epic Gigantomachia is alluded to as here ll. 333–6: there l. 33 his own special aptitude for elegiacs is proclaimed as here ll. 331–2: there l. 35 the Amores are spoken of, as they are here ll. 339–40: there next ll. 37–40, 45–8 the Ars Amatoria is introduced, and is stated to have been the cause of the Emperor's displeasure as it is here l. 345: finally, there ll. 49–52 he pleads as his excuse that his work was not designed to corrupt married women as he does here ll. 347–8.

341. **me mea fata trahebant**: III. 6. 15 'sed mea me in poenam nimirum fata trahebant'.

342. **in**: 332 n.

ingeniosus: 288 n.

343. For **quod**, which is supported by I. 1. 2 'ei mihi, quod domino non licet ire tuo!'; 6. 29 'ei mihi, non magnas quod habent mea carmina vires!' Am. II. 3. 1 'ei mihi, quod dominam nec vir nec

femina servas!', the reading **quid** is found in LGHPV (qd L), which I retained in my larger edition, understanding **quid** as i. q. 'cur', as M. II. 100 'quid mea colla tenes?' V. 371 'Tartara quid cessant?' IX. 143 'quid autem flemus?' P. I. 3. 81 'quid referam veteres Romanae gentis?' But if that had been the meaning intended, rhetorical anaphora would have led Ovid to write **cur**, which is actually the reading of many MSS. The reading **quid** indicates **quod**, for which it was misread through the easy confusion between the contractions of 'quid' (qd) and 'quod' (qd̄). See Lindsay, Notae Latinae, p. 249.

docuere parentes: IV. 10. 15 'protinus excolimur teneri curaque parentis imus ad insignes urbis ab arte viros'.

344. **littera**: letter of the alphabet, as 566. I. 11. 1 'littera quaecumque est toto tibi lecta libello'. IV. 1. 96 'umidaque est fletu littera facta meo'. Ibis 3 'nullaque, quae possit, scriptis tot milibus, extat littera Nasonis sanguinolenta legi'. P. II. 10. 4 'cognitane est nostra littera facta manu?' IV. 2. 24 'ducitur et digitis littera rara meis'. Hence it also signifies handwriting. III. 1. 15 'littera suffusas quod habet maculosa lituras'. ibid. 54. H. 12. 114; 15. 1, or a literary composition, V. 3. 54 'nullaque iudicio littera laesa meo est', especially in the sense of an epistle, III. 7. 2. IV. 7. 23. V. 11. 2. Am. II. 18. 33. H. 3. 1; 5. 2; 6. 9. A. A. I. 455. This sense is clearly indicated in P. IV. 11. 15 'dum tua pervenit, dum littera nostra recurrens tot maria ac terras permeat, annus abit', and P. I. 9. 1 'quae mihi de rapto tua venit epistula Celso, protinus est lacrimis umida facta meis; quodque nefas dictu, fieri nec posse putavi, invitis oculis littera lecta tua est', where 'epistula' and 'littera' are synonymous.

morata: detained the attention of my eyes. Am. I. 11. 21 'comprimat ordinibus versus, oculosque moretur margine in extremo littera rasa meos'. Hor. Ep. I. 13. 17 'carmina, quae possint oculos auresque morari Caesaris'. A. P. 321. Prop. I. 8. 1 'nec te mea cura moratur?'

345. **haec . . . lascivia**: 'my aforesaid voluptuousness' in my verse referred to in 339–42, which began in the Amores, there indicated, and culminated in the Ars Amatoria, here explicitly mentioned. **haec** of what is near to the speaker and prominent in his thought. P. III. 3. 47 'dum damus arma tibi, dum te, lascive, docemus, haec te discipulo dona magister habet', where 'haec dona' means 'my present recompense', exile. M. XV. 775 'timor hic meminisse priorum non sinit', where 'timor hic' means 'my present fear' about Caesar. Cic. Phil. V. 35 'quibusnam verbis eius [Bruti] laudes huius ipsius temporis consequi possumus? neque enim ullam mercedem tanta virtus praeter hanc laudis gloriaeque desiderat', where 'hanc' means 'the above-mentioned' reward.

346. **quis**: this form for 'quibus' occurs A. A. III. 342. 774. F. IV. 134. M. II. 346, and sometimes in Latin from Plautus downwards: instances in Neue, Formenlehre II. 234. Georges, Wortformen, p. 582. It is not used by Cicero in his Speeches, but is found in de Or. I. 85 and in the Letters. Here **quis**, the reading of the first hand of L (Ehwald, Symb. Ov. II. 17), is to be preferred to **quas** found in L^2 and the other MSS., which probably arose from desire to provide a subject for **sollicitare**. But (1) the subject of **sollicitare** is 'me' supplied from the preceding line. The subject of an infinitive, especially in the case of verbs of saying, perceiving, knowing, thinking, is often omitted when it can be easily supplied from the context, and is a personal or reflexive pronoun corresponding to the subject of the main verb, Madvig, L. Gr. § 401.

Kühner, II. 1. 700. As here, it is omitted with a verb of thinking in, H. 3. 113 'at Danai (te) maerere putant'. 11. 85 'vagitus dedit ille miser, sensisse (eum) putares'. A. A. II. 171 'nec puto nec sensi (eam) tunicam laniasse, sed ipsa dixerat'; 521 'dicta erit isse foras, quam tu fortasse videbis: (eam) isse foras et te falsa videre puta'. Liv. XXI. 12. 4 'Alco precibus aliquid (se) moturum ratus'. So after 'nego' Am. I. 12. 2; III. 9. 46; 14. 15, 'scio' Am. I. 13. 47, 'fateor' Am. III. 14. 37; M. VI. 356; P. IV. 1. 5; 3. 19, 'iuro' A. A. I. 372, 'fingo' P. I. 5. 77, 'patior' Rem. 304, 'queror' T. V. 10. 48. (2) A person, rather than a thing (the Ars Amatoria), is the natural subject of **sollicitare**, as is the case in the parallel passage P. III. 3. 49 'scis tamen, et liquido iuratus dicere possis, non me legitimos sollicitasse toros'. So F. III. 483 'ausus es ante oculos adducta paelice nostros tam bene compositum sollicitare torum?' A personal subject is usual with this verb H. 17. 4. Am. III. 7. 56, 74. A. A. I. 484. M. VII. 721. F. I. 418. In Am. II. 4. 45 'me nova sollicitat, me tangit serior aetas' by 'nova aetas' is meant 'young persons'.

The reading **sollicitasse** found here in many MSS. is probably interpolated from P. III. 3. 50.

vetitos sollicitare toros: to teach adultery. P. III. 3. 57 'quid tamen hoc prodest, vetiti si lege severa credor adulterii composuisse notas?' Augustus passed in 18 B. C. a special enactment concerning adultery, the Lex Iulia de adulteriis coercendis, Dig. XLVIII. 5. Suet. Aug. 34. Iuv. 2. 37, which formed a part of his comprehensive marriage enactments, which culminated in the Lex Papia Poppaea passed in A. D. 9, concerning which see Furneaux, Appendix to Tacitus Annals, Bk. II. By the 'lex de adulteriis' of Augustus (Tac. A. III. 24. 3) adultery was for the first time defined as a criminal offence, Dig. XLVIII. 5. 13 'nequis posthac stuprum adulterium facito sciens dolo malo', and prosecution was permitted to others than the father and outraged husband. This revolution produced a profound impression, Hor. Carm. IV. 5. 21 'nullis polluitur casta domus stupris, mos et lex maculosum edomuit nefas, laudantur simili prole puerperae, culpam poena premit comes'. Ov. F. II. 139 'tu rapis, hic castas duce se iubet esse maritas'. This law modified the ancient right of personal vengeance by confining to her father the right of killing the guilty woman, or her accomplice if caught in the act. The husband was obliged to divorce his wife, but not allowed to kill her, nor the adulterer, unless he was a freedman or slave or followed a dishonourable calling. If under impulse of emotion he did kill, the homicide was regarded as excusable, for which the extreme penalty might not exceed exile. The full penalty for adultery was 'relegatio' of the guilty parties to different islands; the adulterer forfeited half his estate, the adulteress a third of her estate and half her 'dos'. Paul. Sent. II. 26. Iustin. Instit. IV. 18. Tac. A. IV. 42. 3. Quintil. Inst. III. 11. 7. V. 10. 104. Mommsen, Strafrecht, p. 691. A milder punishment than 'relegatio' might be imposed, as banishment beyond 200 miles from Rome, Tac. A. II. 50. 5.

347. **neque . . . que**: the combination of a negative and affirmative proposition, the first introduced by **nec**, the second by **que** or (which is commoner) 'et' or (which is rare) 'ac', indicates a contrast 'on the one hand not—and on the other hand'. Examples (1) similar to the present with **que** are IV. 1. 65 'utque neque insidias capitisque pericula narrem'. P. I. 1. 19 'nec vos hoc vultis, sed nec prohibere potestis, Musaque ad invitos officiosa venit'. M. II. 231 'et neque iam cineres

eiectatamque favillam ferre potest calidoque involvitur undique fumo'. III. 524 'neque enim dignabere numen honore, meque sub his tenebris nimium vidisse quereris'. IX. 435 'nec nostrum seri curvarent Acacon anni, perpetuumque aevi florem Rhadamanthus haberet'. So Cic. Lael. 104 'sed nec illa exstincta sunt alunturque potius et augentur'. Fin. I. 48. Caes. B. G. V. 2. 4. (2) **nec . . . et**: P. I. 2. 93 'sed neque, cur morerer, quicquam mihi comperit actum, et minus infestus, quam fuit, esse potest'. 7. 37 'sed neque claudenda est, et nulla potentia vires praestandi, ne quid peccet amicus, habet'. M. II. 42 '"nec tu meus esse negari dignus es, et Clymene veros" ait "edidit ortus"'. M. XIV. 841 'namque mihi nec, quae sis, dicere promptum est, et liquet esse deam'. Plin. Ep. IX. 35. 2 'nimia cura nec absolvit priora et inchoare posteriora non patitur'. (3) **nec . . . ac** only in post-Augustan Latin. Tac. Agr. 10. 7 'naturam oceani atque aestus neque quaerere huius operis est ac multi rettulere'. Suet. Vesp. 12. Apul. Met. III. 3. X. 14.

In T. IV. 1. 22 'nec mare nec ventos barbariamque timet' ('fears neither sea nor winds and foreign land') **que** couples 'barbariam' closely with 'ventos', as 'atque' couples 'canis' with 'calix' in Mart. XI. 32. 4 'nec sera nec clavis nec canis atque calix'. So Verg. Geor. III. 246 'nec funera vulgo tam multa informes ursi stragemque dedere'. Cp. T. V. 1. 75 'denique nulla mihi captatur gloria quaeque ingeniis stimulos subdere fama solet'. Sometimes the negative is understood from the first clause in the second as Verg. Aen. IX. 138 'nec solos tangit Atridas iste dolor, solisque licet capere arma Mycenis'.

furta: 249 n.

348. **quod parum novit**: Ovid claimed to have been a faithful husband (354 n.). I. 6. 1–4. IV. 3. 17 ff., 47 'denique, ut et vixi, sine crimine mortuus essem'.

349–50. The assertion that his character was unassailed by scandal, repeated IV. 10. 65 'molle Cupidineis nec inexpugnabile telis cor mihi, quodque levis causa moveret, erat. cum tamen hic essem minimoque accenderer igni, nomine sub nostro fabula nulla fuit', is contradicted by the indictment brought against him by Tragoedia, which, however, conveys probably a truer estimate of his reputation than he cared to admit after his banishment; Am. III. 1. 15 'et prior "ecquis erit", dixit, "tibi finis amandi, o argumenti lente poeta tui? nequitiam vinosa tuam convivia narrant, narrant in multas compita secta vias. saepe aliquis digito vatem designat euntem, atque ait 'hic, hic est, quem ferus urit Amor'. fabula, nec sentis, tota iactaris in urbe, dum tua praeterito facta pudore refers."' See also T. IV. 10. 123 'nec, qui detrectat praesentia, Livor iniquo ullum de nostris dente momordit opus'.

349. **delicias**: 78 n.

mollia: 307 n.

350. **strinxerit**, 'wounded', 'injured': the word properly means to graze, wound lightly, as Verg. Aen. IX. 576 'hunc primo levis hasta Themillae strinxerat'. Cp. inf. 466, 563 'non ego mordaci destrinxi carmine quemquam'. V. 6. 21 'tua delicto stringantur pectora nostro'.

fabula, 'scandal', as IV. 10. 68 (quoted above). Q. Cic. Petit. Cons. 54 'vitare fabulam'. Prop. II. 32. 26 'semper formosis fabula poena fuit'. Iuv. 1. 145 'nova nec tristis per cunctas fabula cenas'. The word sometimes acquires the concrete meaning a 'byword' 'subject of scandal', as Am. III. 1. 24 (quoted above). A. A. II. 630 'ut quamque attigeris, fabula turpis erit'. Hor. Epod. 11. 8 'fabula quanta fui!' Ep. I. 13. 9 'fabula fias'. Tibull. I. 4. 83 'parce, puer, quaeso, ne

turpis fabula fiam'. Prop. II. 24. 1 'tu loqueris, cum sis iam noto fabula libro'.

351. **adeo media de plebe**: i. q. 'adeo mediae plebis': i. e. 'nemo tam ignobilis maritus est'. **de**: from, belonging to. The **plebs** is the mass of the people as distinguished from the two great classes, the 'ordo senatorius' and 'ordo equester'. IV. 2. 15 'plebs pia cumque pia laetetur plebe senatus, parvaque cuius eram pars ego nuper eques'. **media** applied to **plebs** is equivalent to 'mediocris', ordinary humble folk. I. 1. 88 'ut satis a media sit tibi plebe legi'. M. V. 207 'nomina longa mora est media de plebe virorum dicere'. IX. 306 'una ministrarum media de plebe Galanthis'. XI. 283 'mediae quoque commoda plebi nostra patent'. F. V. 20 'aliquis solio . . . ausus de media plebe sedere deus'. So M. VII. 432 'medium vulgus'. Rem. 376 'usibus e mediis soccus habendus erit'. Liv. V. 37. 3 'dilectum nihilo accuratiorem quam ad media (ordinary) bella haberi solitus erat'.

352. **dubius**: subject to question. M. V. 144 'Astreus matre Palaestina dubio (unknown) genitore creatus'. Cp. P. III. 3. 53 'dic, precor, ecquando didicisti fallere nuptas, et facere incertum per mea iussa genus?'

353–4. Ovid makes the same declaration I. 9. 59 'vita tamen tibi nota mea est. scis artibus illis auctoris mores abstinuisse sui'. III. 2. 5 'nec mihi, quod lusi vero sine crimine, prodest, quodque magis vita Musa iocata mea est'. P. II. 7. 47 'artibus ingenuis quaesita est gloria multis: infelix perii dotibus ipse meis. vita prior vitio caret et sine labe peracta est: auxilii misero nil tulit illa mihi'. IV. 8. 19 'sive velis, qui sint mores inquirere nostri, errorem misero detrahe, labe carent'.

Though in the Ars Amatoria he appeared as the poet of the fashionable society of the luxurious capital in its laxer moods, and wrote as the frivolous child of his age, inspired by his surroundings; and though he was a man of impulsive feeling (IV. 10. 65 'molle Cupidineis nec inexpugnabile telis cor mihi, quodque levis causa moveret, erat'), indeed, his three marriages bear witness to his susceptibility; yet we may believe Ovid's assertion that his life was respectable, by which he means free from gross licentiousness. Ordinary frailties were regarded by the Romans as venial (Cic. Cael. 28). What they did regard as immoral was the violation of the marriage tie. Judged from that point of view, Ovid's conduct may well have been correct.

The plea here set up that a poet's life must not be judged by the freedom of his verse had been already advanced by Catullus in defence of the indelicacy of his erotic fugitive poems, his hendecasyllables which he calls 'versiculi'. Their audacity of expression and matter was an innovation on the part of Catullus: such audacity, though tolerated by the Greeks, was disapproved of by the more serious Romans (Lafaye, Catulle et ses modèles, pp. 98–108). Catull. 16. 5 'nam castum esse decet pium poetam ipsum, versiculos nihil necesse est, qui tunc denique habent salem ac leporem, si sint molliculi ac parum pudici, et quod pruriat incitare possunt'. (This and other debts of Ovid to Catullus are discussed by A. Zingerle, Ovidius und sein Verhältniss zu den Vorgängern, I. 36 foll.) Pliny, in two of his Letters, defends his own risky hendecasyllables in the same way as Catullus, and in the latter of them, like Ovid, gives a catalogue of authors of undoubted repute who wrote with similar freedom, though it is significant that he omits Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, and Ovid from

his list. Plin. Ep. IV. 14. 4 'ex quibus tamen si nonnulla tibi petulantiora paulo videbuntur, erit eruditionis tuae cogitare summos illos et gravissimos viros, qui talia scripserunt, non modo lascivia rerum, sed ne verbis quidem nudis abstinuisse, quae nos refugimus, non quia severiores (unde enim?), sed quia timidiores sumus. scimus alioqui huius opusculi illam esse verissimam legem, quam Catullus expressit: "nam castum . . . parum pudici"'. V. 3. 2 'facio nonnumquam versiculos severos parum, facio tamen, et comoedias audio, et specto mimos, et lyricos lego, et Sotadicos intellego . . . utque omnia innoxiae remissionis genera breviter amplectar, homo sum. . . . an ego verear . . . ne me non satis deceat, quod decuit M. Tullium, C. Calvum, Asinium Pollionem, M. Messalam, Q. Hortensium, M. Brutum, L. Sullam, Q. Catulum, Q. Scaevolam, Ser. Sulpicium, M. Varronem, L. Torquatum, immo Torquatos, C. Memmium, Lentulum Gaetulicum, Annaeum Senecam, Annaeum Lucanum et proxime Verginium Rufum, et si non sufficiunt exempla privata, divum Iulium, divum Augustum, divum Nervam, Tiberium Caesarem?' So Martial, I. 4. 8 'lasciva est nobis pagina, vita proba'. XI. 15. 13 'mores non habet hic meos libellus'. Apuleius, replying to the charge that he had written 'versus ludicros et amatorios', Apol. 11 'Catullum ita respondentem malivolis non legistis: "nam castum esse decet pium poetam ipsum, versiculos nihil necesse est?" divus Adrianus cum Voconi amici sui poetae tumulum versibus muneraretur, ita scripsit: "lascivus versu, mente pudicus eras", quod numquam ita dixisset, si forent lepidiora carmina argumentum impudicitiae habenda'. Ausonius defended his unworthy Cento Nuptialis, quoting, like Ovid, a series of literary predecessors in indelicacy, Cento, p. 218 Peiper '"Lasciva est nobis pagina, vita proba", ut Martialis dicit. meminerint autem, quippe eruditi, probissimo viro Plinio in poematis lasciviam, in moribus constitisse censuram, prurire opusculum Sulpiciae, frontem caperare; esse Appuleium in vita philosophum, in epigrammatis amatorem; in praeceptis Ciceronis extare severitatem, in epistulis ad Caerelliam subesse petulantiam; Platonis Symposion composita in ephebos epyllia continere. nam quid Anniani Fescenninos, quid antiquissimi poetae Laevii Erotopaegnion libros loquar? quid Euenum, quem Menander sapientem vocavit? quid ipsum Menandrum? quid comicos omnes? quibus severa vita est et laeta materia. quid etiam Maronem Parthenien dictum causa pudoris? quid in octavo Aeneidos, cum describeret coitum Veneris atque Vulcani, αἰσχροσεμνίαν decenter immiscuit? quid? in tertio Georgicorum de summissis in gregem maritis nonne obscenam significationem honesta verborum translatione velavit?'

355. **mendax . . . et ficta**: this refers to the Amores, the incidents in which are probably chiefly fictitious, and drawn especially from Propertius, also from Tibullus, Lygdamus, Horace, and Catullus (Némethy).

356. **compositore suo**: i.e. quam ego qui ea composui.

357–8. The thought of 353 is amplified. The Ars is no indication of the poet's character, but is light poetry designed to charm by its polished style.

357. **animi**: character. III. 6. 7 'animi candor'. H. 7. 5 'animum pudicum'. Am. II. 8. 19 'animi periuria puri'. P. I. 2. 2 'geminas animi nobilitate genus'. III. 2. 103 'est animus tibi mitis'.

honesta: harmless, innocent. H. 7. 109 'si fuit errandum, causas habet error honestas'. The Ars is termed a harmless diversion since it was not expressly intended to deprave, A. A. 1. 33.

voluptas: in the sense of a source of pleasure, relaxation, here applied to a literary work, is used by Cicero of banquets given to electors by candidates, Mur. 74 'negat iudicium hominum in magistratibus mandandis corrumpi voluptatibus oportere. tu mihi summum inperium petas . . . deleniendis animis et adhibendis voluptatibus', and frequently of the public spectacles, Ludi, which are called 'honestae voluptates' by Minuc. Felix 12. 5 'suspensi atque solliciti honestis voluptatibus abstinetis, non spectacula visitis, non pompis interestis'. So Vopisc. Aurel. 34. 6 'datae sunt populo uoluptates ludorum scaenicorum, ludorum circensium, uenationum, gladiatorum, naumachiae'. Capitolin. M. Antonin. 23. 4 'absens populi Romani voluptates curari vehementer praecepit per ditissimos editores'. Vopisc. Prob. 19. 1 'dedit Romanis etiam voluptates, et quidem insignes'.

358. **plurima**: most parts of the work.

mulcendis auribus apta: suited to charm the ears. M. X. 301 'mea si vestras mulcebunt carmina mentes'. V. 561 'canor mulcendas natus ad aures'. Poetry was written in order to be recited (Mayor, Iuv. 3. 9), and was thus designed to please the ears of the audience. Cicero speaks of oratorical style as addressed 'ad omnem aurium voluptatem et animorum motum', De Or. III. 177. Quintil. Inst. IX. 4. 116 'optime de illa (compositione) iudicant aures, quae . . . levibus mulcentur'. ibid. 2. 5 'quae cum adesse debent, tum disponenda atque varianda sunt, ut auditorem, quod in fidibus fieri videmus, omni sono mulceant'.

voluptas, the reading of V and a few MSS., is necessary to the meaning. The sense in which the Ars is termed an object of pleasure is defined by the pentameter. **voluntas** is the reading of L and most MSS. But in the case of these two words the testimony of MSS. is of little importance, as 'voluptas' and 'voluntas' are constantly interchanged by what is termed 'psychological error' (Havet, Manuel de Critique Verbale, § 581; Hall, Companion to Classical Texts, p. 154), which led scribes to substitute one similar word for another. Thus 'voluntas' is wrongly substituted for 'voluptas' in MSS. in M. IX. 243, 481. F. II. 593. T. IV. 3. 37. P. II. 7. 3; 9. 39. III. 5. 25. IV. 2. 29; 9. 37. So also Plaut. Truc. 353, 426. Verg. G. III. 130. Culex 89. Prop. II. 29. 36. Liv. XXI. 4. 6. Plin. Ep. II. 17. 24. Lucan IV. 705. In the following passages, on the other hand, 'voluptas' is substituted for 'voluntas': H. 17. 177. M. VIII. 678. IX. 598, 627. XII. 177. P. I. 3. 93. II. 5. 31. III. 2. 17; 4. 79. Pers. 5. 89. Iuv. 13. 208.

The following are instances of this sort of confusion in the MSS. of the Tristia: 'deducta', 'dictata' (I. 1. 39); 'adstrata', 'attracta' (I. 3. 43); 'madescit', 'fatiscit' (I. 10. 8); 'arta', 'apta', 'alta' (I. 10. 36); 'amor', 'honor' (II. 160); 'indoluisse', 'inualuisse' (II. 210); 'munera', 'nomina', 'numina' (II. 295); 'furta', 'facta' (II. 432); 'excreet', 'execret', 'excubet' (II. 460); 'trepido', 'rapido' (III. 1. 54); 'terris', 'uentis' (III. 2. 15); 'extremis', 'externis' (III. 3. 13); 'tituli', 'titulo', 'tumuli', 'tumulo' (III. 3. 72, 77); 'marmore', 'margine' (III. 10. 47); 'conficis', 'colligis' (III. 14. 5); 'rogos', 'focos'[1] (IV. 1. 102); 'promissis', 'prolixis' (IV. 2. 34); 'pudor', 'rubor' (IV. 3. 70); 'clementia', 'dementia' (IV. 9. 3); 'auara', 'amara' (IV. 10. 51); 'Marte', 'morte' (V. 2. 69); 'uacet', 'caret'

[1] I regret that 'focos' instead of 'rogos' was by an error printed in the text of my edition in the *Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis*.

(V. 3. 40); 'lurida', 'liuida', 'lucida' (V. 7. 16); 'limina', 'lumina' (V. 11. 25); 'plaudat', 'ludat' (V. 12. 7).

If the reading of L and most MSS. **uoluntas** were retained, as by Pontanus, Cocchia, and Ehwald-Levy, and in my previous editions, see C. R. II. 181, the meaning would be 'the evidence of my nature is not the book but my creditable purpose', that purpose being the intention to give pleasure by the poetic beauties of the Ars. Plin. Ep. III. 8. 4 'honestissimae voluntati tuae pareo'. For **uoluntas**, 'purpose', cp. M. IX. 598 'nonne vel illa dies fuerat, vel tota voluntas, sed potius mutanda dies'. P. II. 5. 31 'officiosa voluntas'. III. 4. 79 'ut desint vires, tamen est laudanda voluntas'. But this lacks clearness, whereas **voluptas** harmonizes better with the words **mulcendis auribus apta.**

I have restored **feres** (the reading of LG^2HV, fores P) in place of **ferens**, which all editors except Landi and Ehwald-Levy, who follow me, accept following Heinsius, who substituted **ferens** for **refert**, the reading of the early editors. Both these two latter readings have poor MS. support; against **refert** it may be argued that the verb elsewhere is used generally with a personal subject, as supra 61, infra 397, 433, 453, III. 6. 33, IV. 2. 71, V. 4. 19, while **ferens** being strictly participial in meaning violates Ovid's practice, since Ovid avoids a present participle at the end of the pentameter, unless the participle has the force of a substantive or adjective. As there is some uncertainty about this matter, I append a list of examples. Participle as substantive: 'nocens' 'a criminal' supra 10. H. 4. 28; 12. 106, 132. Am. II. 19. 14. P. II. 10. 12. 'amans' 'a lover' H. 4. 154; 11. 126; 18. 56. Am. I. 8. 78; 9. 2, 10. III. 6. 22. A. A. I. 502. III. 554. Rem. 36. So 'legens' a 'reader' Liv. praef. 4. 'spectantes' 'spectators' Liv. I. 25. 4. Participle as adjective: 'nocens' 'harmful' supra 270. 'potens' 'powerful' A. A. III. 258. 'decens' 'graceful' Rem. 350. F. V. 356. 'conveniens' 'favens' 'suitable' 'favourable' P. III. 1. 160 'horaque conveniens auspiciumque favens' correctly paraphrased by Crispinus 'tempus idoneum et propitium augurium'. 'amans' 'eager for' P. II. 9. 46 'sed quam Marte ferox et vinci nescius armis, tam numquam, facta pace, cruoris amans'. Here 'amans' is equivalent to 'cupidus'; it is adjectival, corresponding to the two other adjectives 'ferox' 'nescius'. In the two latter passages Palmer strangely understands 'favens' in P. III. 1. 160 and 'amans' in P. II. 9. 46 as participial, in a note on H. 13. 110, where by his own conjecture he introduces 'latens' at the end of the pentameter in place of 'tuis', because the Puteaneus has 'tens'; but that is an obvious corruption of 'tuis' corrected by the reviser. This is, I believe, a complete list, from which it appears that Ovid never places the present participle at the end of a pentameter when it is strictly participial in meaning. There remains one line in which in many editions a true participle appears at the end of the line: F. III. 634 'mente premit tacita dissimulatque fremens'. But here the MSS. present divergent readings 'fremens' 'metus' 'metum'. It is hard to believe that in this line only Ovid departed from his invariable practice. Paley showed his strong common sense in adopting 'metus', though the ingenious conjecture of Hoffmann 'metu' is attractive. At any rate I consider 'fremens' to be impossible.

With **feres** the metre is unexceptionable, and the meaning 'you will obtain' well supported. This is a favourite word with Ovid at the end of the pentameter: H. 16. 376 'nomen ab aeterna posteritate feres'. Am. III. 6. 66 'munera promissis uberiora feres'. A. A. I. 356 'quod

petis, ex facili, si volet illa, feres'. II. 702 'si modo duraris, praemia digna feres'. III. 280 'ridendo maxima damna feres'. Rem. 512 'hoc etiam nostra munus ab arte feres'. F. I. 12 'tu quoque cum Druso praemia fratre feres'. III. 878 'tempora nocturnis aequa diurna feres'. IV. 894 'Iuppiter, e Latio palmite musta feres'. So also in this sense, T. IV. 10. 131. P. I. 4. 24.

359–60. Poets' characters cannot be inferred from their writings. If they were judged in this way, Accius would have been cruel (**esset** hypothetical subj., with condition implied in the context), because cruelties are the subject of his tragedies, Terence a man of pleasure, because his plays are concerned with the life of pleasure, writers of epic warlike because they describe wars.

Accius, the chief writer of Roman tragedy, is described by Cicero as a great poet who possessed dignity of style: Sest. 120 'summi poetae ingenium'. Planc. 59 'gravis et ingeniosus poeta'. Horace calls him sublime ('altus' Ep. II. 1. 56), Ovid, spirited in style (Am. I. 15. 19 'animosi oris'). Quintilian thus compares him with Pacuvius, Inst. Or. X. 1. 97 'tragoediae scriptores veterum Accius atque Pacuvius clarissimi gravitate sententiarum, verborum pondere, auctoritate personarum. ceterum nitor et summa in excolendis operibus manus magis videri potest temporibus quam ipsis defuisse; virium tamen Accio plus tribuitur, Pacuvium videri doctiorem qui esse docti adfectant volunt'. Plessis says of him (Poésie latine, p. 44) 'Il se plaisait et excellait aux sentiments farouches, aux passions violentes, aux situations affreuses'. The epithet **atrox** refers to the horrible subjects of his tragedies, which among others comprised the legends of the Trojan war (Achilles, Deiphobus, Astyanax), the house of Atreus (Aegisthus, Clutemestra, Agamemnonidae), the house of Thebes (Antigona, Phoenissae) of Athamas, Medea, and Tereus. Schanz, I. 178.

The form **Accius**, preserved here in L and in Am. I. 15. 19 in the Sangallensis, is better established for the poet's name (so also Varr. L. L. VII. 65, Hor. S. I. 10, 53, A. P. 258, Pers. I. 76) than Attius, a form which often occurs in texts. Accius and Attius are two distinct names, W. Schulze, Gesch. lat. Eigennamen, p. 423. Thus in Pers. 1. 50 'Ilias Atti' relates to Attius Labeo, ibid. 76 'liber Acci' to the tragic poet. See Wilkins on Hor. Ep. II. 1. 56.

That Terence was no mere votary of pleasure (**conviva**), but a man of refined taste, is suggested by the delicacy and finish of his comedies, in which he aimed at winning the applause, not like Plautus, of the uncultured masses, but of the educated classes, especially the enlightened society to which he belonged, which gathered round Scipio Africanus, chief among whom were Laelius and Furius Philus. His comedies are free from the coarseness of Plautus, his characters are more subtle, his Greek originals are assimilated and rendered Roman with Attic grace of style, which seems to have given rise to the story that his plays were written by Laelius, Cic. Att. VII. 3. 10 'Terentium, cuius fabellae propter elegantiam sermonis putabantur a C. Laelio scribi'. Suet. vit. Ter. 2 'non obscura fama est adiutum Terentium in scriptis a Laelio et Scipione'.

The word **conviva**, defined as *συμπότης, σύνδειπνος, συνέστιος* C. G. L. Goetz VI. 275, means (1) one who lives constantly with another, a boon-companion, Hor. S. I. 10. 80 'conviva Tigelli', Cic. Clu. 36 'conviva et adiutore Oppianico', Flacc. 24, Pers. 1. 38; (2) a guest

at dinner, Am. I. 4. 3, II. 5. 21, P. I. 2. 130, Hor. S. II. 2. 69, especially one who takes part in (a) a luxurious or rollicking feast, Plaut. Mil. 642, 644, Pseud. 881, Ter. Eun. 407 'tum me convivam solum abducebat sibi' (of Thraso dining with the Persian king), so 'convivarier', Ter. Heaut. 206, or (b) in a drunken orgy, F. V. 337 'ebrius conviva', VI. 407, Plaut. Rud. 592, Most. 379; (3) a constant diner out at another's expense; Petron. 33, 'veterem convivam'. So Naevolus in Iuv. 9. 10, and so the 'umbra' Balatro is called 'conviva comis', Hor. S. II. 8. 76.

Since the professional diner out, the hanger-on, the 'parasitus' was a familiar figure, it has been supposed that **conviva** here is equivalent to 'parasitus', in allusion to Phormio, the 'parasitus' in the Phormio, and to Gnatho the 'parasitus' in the Eunuchus, which play, judging by Cicero's frequent references (N. D. II. 60 = Eun. 733; Off. I. 150 = Eun. 257; Tusc. IV. 76 = Eun. 59; Lael. 98 = Eun. 391; Att. VII. 3. 10 = Eun. 115 and 539), and which character especially (Lael. 93 = Eun. 252; Fam. I. 9. 19 = Eun. 440, cp. Auson. Ep. 26. 10, p. 273 Peiper, of Phormio) had caught the popular taste. Gnatho is called 'parasitum edacem', Ter. Eun. prol. 38. Cp. Hor. Ep. II. 1. 173 'quantus sit Dossennus edacibus in parasitis'.

But it is unnecessary to take the word in this restricted sense. It refers rather generally to the gluttonies and carouses dear to the pleasure-loving characters in Terence's comedies. It is at first sight curious that Ovid should have selected as his illustration Terence rather than Plautus, in whose plays the drolleries of gluttony and the tavern are more prominent (see e.g. the drinking scenes, Most. 314 ff., Pseud. 1247 ff.); Ausonius does so instance Plautus, Ep. 5. 46, p. 228 Peiper, 'parasitorum collegia Plautinorum'. But Ovid, who never mentions Plautus, here names Terence as being the most artistic and finished writer of Roman Comedy ('Terenti scripta elegantissima' Quintil. Inst. Or. X. 1. 99), as he names Accius as the greatest exponent of Roman Tragedy. Thus Plautus is not mentioned in his sketch of Roman literature, in which Accius is adduced as the chief tragic writer, by Velleius I. 17. 1 'in Accio circaque eum Romana tragoedia est; dulcesque Latini leporis facetiae per Caecilium Terentiumque et Afranium suppari aetate nituerunt'. See Introduction III, p. 61.

The direct references in Terence to eating and drinking are as follows: Andr. 88 (Pamphilus pays his share towards the dinner of the friends). Heaut. 162 (Chremes gives a dinner at the Dionysia), 455 (Chremes gives a dinner with much wine drinking to Bacchis). Eun. 256 (Gnatho entertained at dinner by the provision dealers), 727 (Chremes drunk), 1059 (Gnatho is always to have a place at dinner at Thraso's house). Phorm. 339 (the parasite dines free at his host's expense), 831 (Phormio proposes to drink), 837 (Phaedria is to drink at Phormio's house), 1053 (Phormio asks to be invited to dinner). Hec. 823 (Pamphilus 'vini plenus'). Adelph. 102, 117 (the indulgent uncle Micio approves of banqueting and drinking in Aeschinus), 284 (Syrus bids Ctesipho arrange a dinner), 376 (preparations for dinner), 591 (the dessert and drinking), 763 (Syrus drunk), 799 (Ctesipho drinking in Micio's house).

363. **Venerem confundere cum vino**: to mingle, combine love with drinking. H. 2. 95 'cumque tuis lacrimis lacrimas confundere nostras'. For **Venerem** of sexual love cp. 440.

364. The lyric poet Anacreon, a native of the Ionian city Teos, flourished at the Court of Polycrates at Samos (Herod. III. 121) and

afterwards at Athens, where he enjoyed the favour of Hipparchus, son of Pisistratus (Plat. Hipparch. 228 c), and of Kritias. He lived to the age of eighty-five (Lucian, Macrob. 26), 'a votary of love and wine, a man who enjoyed every human pleasure to the full, and felt no trouble save the touch of silver in his hair, and the scorn of stately youth or fair maiden for his advancing years' (Mahaffy, Greek Literature, I. 1. 218). In his erotic poems *παιδικοὶ ὕμνοι* formed a leading feature in which he sang of Smerdies, Kleobulus, Bathyllus and other dainty pages of the Court of Polycrates. Maximus Tyrius XVIII. 9, p. 233 Hobein (*ὁ Τήϊος*) *πάντων ἐρᾷ τῶν καλῶν, καὶ ἐπαινεῖ πάντας· μεστὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰ ᾄσματα τῆς Σμέρδιος κόμης, καὶ τῶν Κλεοβούλου ὀφθαλμῶν, καὶ τῆς Βαθύλλου ὥρας.* Anth. P. VII. 31. Two beautiful epitaphs on him wrongly attributed to Simonides, whom he knew at Athens, are preserved. Anth. P. VII. 24 *ἡμερὶ πανθέλκτειρα, μεθυτρόφε, μῆτερ ὀπώρας, οὔλης ἢ σκολιὸν πλέγμα φύεις ἕλικος, Τηΐου ἡβήσειας Ἀνακρείοντος ἐπ' ἄκρῃ στήλῃ καὶ λεπτῷ χώματι τῷδε τάφου· ὡς ὁ φιλάκρητός τε καὶ οἰνοβαρὴς φιλοκώμοις πανυχίσιν κρούων τὴν φιλόπαιδα χέλυν κὴν χθονὶ πεπτηὼς κεφαλῆς ἐφύπερθε φέροιτο ἀγλαὸν ὡραίων βότρυν ἀπ' ἀκρεμόνων, καί μιν ἀεὶ τέγγοι νοτερὴ δρόσος, ἧς ὁ γεραιὸς λαρότερον μαλακῶν ἔπνεεν ἐκ στομάτων.* Anth. P. VII. 25 *οὗτος Ἀνακρείοντα, τὸν ἄφθιτον εἵνεκα Μουσέων ὑμνοπόλον, πάτρης τύμβος ἔδεκτο Τέω, ὃς Χαρίτων πνείοντα μέλη πνείοντα δ' Ἐρώτων τὸν γλυκὺν ἐς παίδων ἵμερον ἡρμόσατο. μοῦνος δ' εἶν Ἀχέροντι βαρύνεται οὐχ ὅτι λείπων ἠέλιον λήθης ἐνθάδ' ἔκυρσε δόμων, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸν χαρίεντα μετ' ἠϊθέοισι Μεγιστέα καὶ τὸν Σμερδιέω Θρῇκα λέλοιπε πόθον. μολπῆς δ' οὐ λήθει μελιτερπέος, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἐκείνων βάρβιτον οὐδὲ θανὼν εὕνασεν εἶν Ἀΐδῃ.* See Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Sappho und Simonides, p. 223. Kritias, whose ancestor of the same name had extended his patronage to Anacreon, gives a pleasing description of him, promising the poet that he will not be forgotten as long as symposia are celebrated at Athens: Kritias fr. 7 Bergk (Wilamowitz, p. 108) *τὸν δὲ γυναικείων μελέων πλέξαντά ποτ' ᾠδὰς ἡδὺν Ἀνακρείοντα Τέως εἰς Ἑλλάδ' ἀνῆγεν, συμποσίων ἐρέθισμα, γυναικῶν ἠπερόπευμα, αὐλῶν ἀντίπαλον, φιλοβάρβιτον, ἡδύν, ἄλυπον. οὔ ποτέ σου φιλότης γηράσεται οὐδὲ θανεῖται, ἔστ' ἂν ὕδωρ οἴνῳ συμμειγνύμενον κυλίκεσσι παῖς διαπομπεύῃ, προπόσεις ἐπιδέξια νωμῶν, παννυχίδας θ' ἱερὰς θήλεις χοροὶ ἀμφιέπωσιν, πλάστιγξ θ' ἡ χαλκοῦ θυγάτηρ ἐπ' ἄκραισι καθίζῃ κοττάβου ὑψηλαῖς* (*ὑψηλὴ* Wilamowitz) *κορυφαῖς Βρομίου ψακάδεσσιν.* Anacreontea fr. 1 *Ἀνακρέων . . . γέρων μὲν ἦν, καλὸς δέ, καλός γε καὶ φίλευνος· τὸ χεῖλος ᾖζεν οἴνου· τρέμοντα δ' αὐτὸν ἤδη Ἔρως ἐχειραγώγει.* Cp. Anacreont. 6. There was a characteristic statue of him at Athens seen by Pausanias, Graec. Descr. I. 25. 1 *τοῦ δὲ Ξανθίππου πλησίον ἕστηκεν Ἀνακρέων ὁ Τήϊος, πρῶτος μετὰ Σαπφὼ τὴν Λεσβίαν τὰ πολλὰ ὧν ἔγραψεν ἐρωτικὰ ποιήσας· καὶ οἱ τὸ σχῆμά ἐστιν οἷον ᾄδοντος ἂν ἐν μέθῃ γένοιτο ἀνθρώπου.* Ovid's description of him here, as in A. A. III. 330 'vinosi Teia Musa senis', is borne out by the fragments of his poems, which being drinking-songs about wine and love, were long sung as scolia at the Athenian symposia. Wilamowitz, l. c., p. 103. He is here coupled with Sappho, as he had been by Plato, Phaedr. 235 c, and by Plutarch, Mul. Virt. 243 b. Hor. Carm. IV. 9. 9. Ovid, A. A. III. 330. Rem. 762.

After this line the following couplet is found in a few MSS.:

Alceus ingentes docuit praeceptor amores,
Alceus ipse tamen mansit in urbe sua,

which Heinsius supposed to have been interpolated from Cic. Tusc. IV. 71 'fortis vir in sua republica cognitus, quae de iuvenum amore scribit Alcaeus! nam Anacreontis quidem tota poesis est amatoria.

maxime vero omnium flagrasse amore Reginum Ibycum apparet ex scriptis'. There Alcaeus is named along with Anacreon. But the false quantity Alcĕus and the vapid epithet 'ingentes' indicate the work of a late, probably mediaeval, interpolator. Burman thought that Ibycus might be the poet in question; he certainly would be more appropriate than Alcaeus, who spent a great part of his life in exile, for Ibycus was *ἐρωτομανέστατος περὶ μειράκια* (Suidas), many of his lyrics were *παιδικοὶ ὕμνοι*, he is called *τὸν φιλέοντα λύρην φιλέοντά τε παῖδας* (Anth. P. VII. 714. 3). Prosody is restored if **Ibycus** for **Alceus** be accepted; then I suggest that **infames** should be read in place of **ingentes**, which produces a tolerable couplet, though the MS. authority is so poor that it is most unlikely that it comes from Ovid.

365. **Sappho**, who flourished in the sixth century B.C., was born at Eresus, in Lesbos, but lived at Mitylene, whence at some time she fled or was banished, in consequence of political disturbances, according to the common account to Sicily, Marm. Par. 36 *Σαπφὼ ἐκ Μιτυλήνης εἰς Σικελίαν ἔπλευσε φυγοῦσα.* Ov. H. 15. 52 'quid mihi cum Lesbo? Sicelis esse volo' (Wilamowitz, Sappho und Simonides, p. 25, doubts whether she went to Sicily). She returned later, and presided in her house, which she herself called *μουσοπόλος οἰκία* (fr. 136), over a society of girls, who resorted to her from neighbouring districts. She instructed them in poetry and music, and, herself acting as choir-mistress, trained them to perform as a chorus songs composed by herself, which formed part of a religious ritual, especially of the worship of Aphrodite and of marriage. The legend, adopted by Ovid in H. 15, the Epistula Sapphus, which first appears in Menander's Leucadia (Strabo X. 2. 9, p. 452; Wilamowitz, l. c., 26), of her passion for the beautiful youth Phaon, and her leap from the cliff of Leucas through despair because her love was unrequited, is probably an invention of the Athenian comic poets. Such legendary matter which grew up round her name, combined with genuine facts, appears to have been incorporated into a traditional biography, which was the source whence Ovid derived much of the material of his Epistula Sapphus, though he drew directly from her poems as well. The Epistula Sapphus (H. 15), though its genuineness has been often questioned, is now generally accepted as Ovid's work since the defence of it by Comparetti, Sull' autenticità della Epistola Ovidiana di Saffo a Faone, Florence, 1876. De Vries, Epistula Sapphus ad Phaonem, Berlin, 1888. See also Schanz, II. 1. 290. Palmer, Heroides, p. 419. Wilamowitz, l. c., p. 21.

Her works were (1) a book of epithalamia, considered the most perfect model of such compositions: there is little doubt that the two epithalamia of Catullus (61 and 62) were adaptations, if not actual translations of her work (Lafaye, Catulle et ses modèles, pp. 72 ff. Wharton, Sappho, p. 38); (2) nine books of lyric poems in various metres; (3) epigrams. Of her lyrics two complete poems have been preserved (Dion. Hal. Comp. verb. 23, Longinus, Subl. 10); others have been recently recovered from papyri.

Sappho's perfection as a writer of love lyrics caused Plato to call her the tenth muse, Anth. P. IX. 506 *ἐννέα τὰς Μούσας φασίν τινες· ὡς ὀλιγώρως. ἠνίδε καὶ Σαπφὼ Λεσβόθεν ἡ δεκάτη.* She possessed a wonderful gift of song not only surpassing all other females, Strabo XIII. 2. 3, p. 617 *ἡ Σαπφώ, θαυμαστόν τί χρῆμα· οὐ γὰρ ἴσμεν ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ χρόνῳ τῷ μνημονευομένῳ φανεῖσάν τινα γυναῖκα ἐνάμιλλον, οὐδὲ κατὰ μικρόν, ἐκείνῃ ποιήσεως χάριν*, but placing her in competition with the great male poets, Hor. Ep. I. 19. 28

'temperat Archilochi Musam pede mascula Sappho', on which see Phillimore, Mnemosyne, LI. 339–41. Stat. Silv. V. 3. 154 'saltusque ingressa viriles non formidata temeraria Chalcide Sappho'. See Wilamowitz, u. s., p. 28. Her poems expressed the sensuous emotions of love with unrivalled simplicity and sweetness: Hor. Carm. IV. 9. 10 'spirat adhuc amor vivuntque commissi calores Aeoliae fidibus puellae'. Ovid calls her 'voluptuous', A. A. III. 331 'quid enim lascivius illa?' and classes her among the foremost erotic poets, Rem. 761: so Apulei. Apol. 9 'mulier Lesbia, lascive illa quidem tantaque gratia, ut nobis insolentiam linguae suae dulcedine carminum commendet'.

Her society of girls was divided into two classes, her bosom-friends and pupils, *ἑταῖραι καὶ φίλαι* and *μαθήτριαι*. Suidas, p. 935, Bekk. With these she lived on terms of warm personal affection; her sympathetic relationship in this respect has been compared to that of Socrates towards the youths of Athens with whom he consorted, Maximus Tyrius 24 (XVIII. 9, p. 230 Hobein) *ὁ δὲ τῆς Λεσβίας (ἔρως) τί ἂν εἴη ἄλλο ἢ αὐτό, ἡ Σωκράτους τέχνη ἐρωτική; δοκοῦσι γάρ μοι τὴν καθ' αὑτὸν ἑκάτερος φιλίαν, ἡ μὲν γυναικῶν, ὁ δὲ ἀρρένων ἐπιτηδεῦσαι. καὶ γὰρ πολλῶν ἐρᾶν ἔλεγον, καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων ἁλίσκεσθαι τῶν καλῶν. ὅ, τι γὰρ ἐκείνῳ Ἀλκιβιάδης καὶ Χαρμίδης καὶ Φαῖδρος, τοῦτο τῇ Λεσβίᾳ Γύριννα καὶ Ἀτθὶς καὶ Ἀνακτορία.* The singularity of her genius and surroundings gave rise to later scandal, Suidas *ἑταῖραι καὶ φίλαι, πρὸς ἃς καὶ διαβολὴν ἔσχεν αἰσχρᾶς φιλίας.* Ov. H. 15. 19 'atque aliae centum, quas non sine crimine amavi'; 201 'Lesbides, infamem quae me fecistis amatae'. Wilamowitz, p. 63 ff. argues forcibly against such vulgar imputations. Her poems reveal an ardour of passion which moves her womanly heart to pour out her affection towards her girls tinged with that sadness which is the essence of the bitter-sweet (*γλυκύπικρον* fr. 40) of love, a sadness provoked by the thought of parting as her maidens pass from her to the state of marriage that was their official goal (Ov. H. 15. 199 'nupturaque nuptaque proles'). She yearns for their entire sympathy, and often complains of coldness or ingratitude on their part, Hor. Carm. II. 13. 24 'Aeoliis fidibus querentem Sappho puellis de popularibus'. Thus many fathers and mothers have been consumed by bitter *ἵμερος* and *πόθος* because their child did not return their *ἔρως φιλίας*, says Wilamowitz (p. 47), who sees in Sappho's necessarily unsatisfied yearning the source of the legend of her love for the beautiful Phaon always cold to her, and of her leap from the 'white rock' to obtain oblivion, *εἰς λῆστιν κακῶν* (p. 60).

The longer poems which we possess illustrate Ovid's language in this line: (1) fr. 1 Bergk *ποικιλόθρον' κτλ.* She implores Aphrodite to secure for her the complete affection and confidence, hitherto denied, of one of her girl pupils (Wilamowitz, p. 44 foll.). (2) fr. 2 Bergk *φαίνεταί μοι κτλ.* Present at the wedding of one of her pupils, she sings of her affection for the girl who is leaving her to become a wife; while she regards the bridegroom seated beside her as equal to the gods in bliss (Wilamowitz, p. 58). (3) Diehl, Supplementum lyricum (Bonn, 1910), fr. 5 *τεθνάκην κτλ.* Sappho addresses words of comfort to a girl who is leaving her, or, as Edmonds suggests, C. R. XXIII. 100, to Atthis who has left her. She reminds her of the dainty life they had led together, but forecasts that her own care and love will soon be forgotten, leaving the teacher behind, a lonely figure with a heart thirsting for love (Wilamowitz, p. 50).

(4) Diehl, fr. 7 *ἀπὸ Σαρδίων κτλ.* Arignota, one of the best loved members of Sappho's circle, has departed to Sardis probably as

a bride. Sappho and Atthis are together thinking of her and longing for her company, as she probably longs for theirs (Wilamowitz, p. 54. Edmonds, C. R. XXIII. 102 interprets rather differently).

(5) Oxyrhynchus Papyri X (1914), p. 22, pap. 1231. Edmonds, C. R. XXVIII. 73, Sappho addresses the absent Anactoria. She says that with Anactoria is a girl the sweet sound of whose footfall and sight of whose bright face Sappho prefers to all the soldiers of Lydia (Grenfell and Hunt think that it is Anactoria herself whom Sappho would prefer to see).

367. **Battiade**: Callimachus (310–240 B.C.), son of Battus (Suidas s.v.), traced his descent to the royal founder of Cyrene, Strabo XVII. 3. 21, p. 837 *λέγεται δὲ ἡ Κυρήνη κτίσμα Βάττου· πρόγονον δὲ τοῦτον ἑαυτοῦ φάσκει Καλλίμαχος.* Callimachus calls himself Battiades in his epitaph. epigr. 35 *Βαττιάδεω παρὰ σῆμα φέρεις πόδας εὖ μὲν ἀοιδὴν εἰδότος, εὖ δ' οἴνῳ καίρια συγγελάσαι.* He is often called so by the Latin poets, Catull. 65. 16; 116. 2. Ov. Am. I. 15. 13. T. V. 5. 38. Ibis 53. Stat. Silv. V. 3. 157. Born at Cyrene founded by Battus (Callim. Hymn. 2. 65, whence the Cyrenaeans are called *Βαττιάδαι* by Callimachus Hymn. 2. 96), after studying at Athens, he taught as a grammarian at Alexandria, where he enjoyed the favour of Ptolemy Philadelphus (Gell. N. A. XVII. 21. 41), who employed him in the royal library (Christ, Gesch. d. griech. Litt. ed. 5, II. 94; Sandys, Hist. Classical Scholarship, I. 122); though he was not, as some have supposed (see Gudeman, C. R. XVIII. 275), actually librarian, which position in succession to Zenodotus was held by Apollonius Rhodius, who was himself succeeded by Eratosthenes. See Grenfell and Hunt, Oxyrhynchus Papyri X. 1241, col. ii, pp. 100–2. He wrote numerous poems of which the (1) Hymns and (2) Epigrams have been preserved. Others now lost were the (3) *Βερενίκης πλόκαμος*, translated by Catullus 66, and (4) Ibis, by which Ovid's Ibis was suggested, both in elegiac couplets; (5) the Hecale, an epyllion on the legend of the old woman who entertained Theseus, of which Schneider reconstructs the plot, Callimachea II. 171. (For new fragments lately discovered see Gomperz, Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer VI. 1 (1893). C. R. VII. 429. Wilamowitz, Götting. Nachtr. 1893, pp. 731 ff. Papiri della Società Italiana II. n. 133; and the convenient collection by R. Pfeiffer, Callimachi Fragmenta nuper reperta (Bonn, 1921); also Mair's edition in the Loeb Library, 1921.) Ovid used the Hecale in his Baucis and Philemon, M. VIII. 611 (Ehwald); (6) the *Αἴτια*, a poem in four books in elegiac couplets, a collection of legends concerning the origins of religious festivals, customs, epithets of the gods, names of places, &c. (Schneider, Callim. II. 35 ff. Rohde, Der griechische Roman, ed. 2, pp. 91 ff.). This work suggested to Ovid the idea of the Fasti. (New fragments lately discovered in Oxyrhynchus Papyri VII. n. 1011 contain a large portion of the Acontius and Cydippe legend, and XI. n. 1362 a conversation at a banquet.) Among other legends it included the stories of the loves of Phyllis and Demophoon and Hero and Leander (Knaack, Analecta Alexandrino-Romana (1880), ch. II. 2. Hero und Leander, Festgabe f. F. Susemihl (1898, p. 46), which doubtless afforded material for Ovid, H. 2, H. 18, H. 19; and the story of the love of Acontius and Cydippe, the source of Ovid, H. 20, H. 21, though the relation of Ovid's work to the Greek original is comparatively remote (Oxyrh. Pap. VII, p. 17): this legend was obtained by Callimachus from Xenomedes, a historian of Ceos, and was introduced into the *Αἴτια* as throwing light on the history of Ceos. Mair, Callimachus, p. 211. (7) *Ἴαμβοι*, in the manner of Hipponax.

When Callimachus is joined with Philetas by the Latin elegiac poets as a poet of love they refer usually to his celebrated Αἴτια (Rohde, griech. Roman ed. 2, p. 95), as is clearly shown by Ov. Rem. 381 'Callimachi numeris non est dicendus Achilles, Cydippe non est oris, Homere, tui'; yet, since in this passage of the Tristia Ovid attributes to Callimachus not poems concerning legendary loves but personal love poems, it has been supposed that Callimachus composed a collection of elegiac poems of the same character as those of the Latin elegiac poets, a view which seems at first sight to be confirmed by Prop. III. 9. 43 'inter Callimachi sat erit placuisse libellos et cecinisse modis, Dore poeta, tuis. haec urant pueros, haec urant scripta puellas, meque deum clament et mihi sacra ferant'. Thus Schneider, Callim. II. 7 and 20, places ἐλεγεῖα in his list of Callimachus' works, and as such classes (p. 217) fr. 67. His view is shared by Rothstein, Propertius Einleit., p. xxiii, who compares Prop. I. 9. 34, and Gollnisch, Quaest. elegiacae (1905), p. 7. But Jacoby, Rhein. Mus. LX, p. 52, assigns the fragment to the Αἴτια. Among the elegies also Christ, Gesch. d. griech. Litt. II. 96, classes epigr. 63, ed. Wilamowitz, which he, p. 88, and Schneider, Call. I. 444 call παρακλαυσίθυρον 'a serenade'. Also Gollnisch, p. 8, classes fr. 11 among the elegies. This fragment, preserved by Stobaeus CXV. 11, is introduced by the words Καλλίμαχος ἐν πρώτῳ ἐπῶν, which is questionable. Bentley's correction ἐν πρώτῳ Αἰτίων is usually accepted, as by Schneider; but Gollnisch prefers Valckenaer's ἐν πρώτῳ ἐλεγείων. Since two of these pieces have been assigned to the Αἴτια and the third is usually reckoned among the epigrams, the evidence that a book of Elegies ever existed is precarious.

It is noteworthy that in this passage Ovid mentions Callimachus after the lyric poetry of Anacreon and Sappho and immediately before the comedies of Menander; the context therefore does not justify the inference that in form his love poems were necessarily Elegies. Ovid does explicitly mention him as an elegiac poet, Rem. 379 'blanda pharetratos Elegeia cantet Amores et levis arbitrio ludat amica suo. Callimachi numeris non est dicendus Achilles, Cydippe non est oris, Homere, tui'; but it is obvious that he there is thinking of the Αἴτια. In the present passage it is the matter rather than the form of Callimachus' love poems that Ovid has in view.

There is evidence that Callimachus did write love poems of a personal character, which were not formal elegies but fugitive pieces. It is these which Ovid has in view. They were of two sorts.

(1) Short poems in various lyric metres entitled μέλη, or, as Schneider thinks, ἐρωτικά or ἐπικήδεια μέλη (Callim. II. 18 and 20), to which class he assigns fr. 116, 118, 191. Wilamowitz, Sitzungsberichte d. königl. preuss. Akademie d. Wissenschaften XXXIX (1912), pp. 524 ff., terms such poems Erotica and classes fr. 114, 118 as such.

(2) Epigrams. Many of Callimachus' epigrams are erotic, and their popularity at Rome is attested by the fact that quite early epigr. 41 was imitated by Q. Catulus in the epigram preserved by Aul. Gell. XIX. 9. 14, and that one of them has been discovered written on a wall in a house on the Esquiline, Kaibel, Epigr. Graec. IIII. Among such epigrams Jacoby, Rhein. Mus. LX. 65, ranks 28, 29, 31, 41–6, 52, 63, ed. Wilamowitz. It is to these two classes of poems I suppose that Ovid alludes here and A. A. III. 329 'sit tibi Callimachi, sit Coi nota poetae, sit quoque vinosi Teia Musa senis'. Rem. 759 'Callimachum fugito: non est inimicus amori'. P. IV. 16. 32 'Callimachi Proculus molle teneret iter'.

368. **delicias**: 78 n.

369. Though love is the subject of all Menander's comedies, yet they form part of the ordinary course of reading prescribed for boys and girls. So, argues Ovid, there is no reason why books which treat of love should be banned. I. F. Gronovius in Statii Silv. Diatribe, p. 310 Hand, compares the rhetoricians' similar line of argument that the setting up in temples of paintings depicting horrible things does not imply approval of the acts they represent, Sen. Contr. X. 5. 14 'peccaverunt ergo et sacerdotes qui tabulam receperunt. quare tamen non reciperent? deorum adulteria picta sunt, positae sunt picturae Herculis liberos occidentis'.

iucundi: not 'popular', which is expressed by Auson. Protrept. 46 'amabilis orsa Menandri', but 'lively', 'witty'. Saltonstall renders 'Menander's pleasant, merry tales of love The harmless thoughts of virgins do approve'. **iucundus** in antithesis to 'gravis' or 'severus' denotes 'gay', 'cheerful', contrasted with 'serious'. Quintil X. 1. 46 (of Homer) 'iucundus et gravis'; ibid. 119 'Vibius Priscus compositus et iucundus et delectationi natus'. Cp. Iuv. 4. 81 'Crispi iucunda senectus'. Plin. Ep. IV. 3. 2 'nam severitatem istam pari iucunditate condire summaeque gravitati tantum comitatis adiungere non minus difficile quam magnum est'. V. 17. 2 'excelsa depressis, exilia plenis, severis iucunda mutabat'. Auson., Cento Nupt., p. 219 Peiper, 'quid ipsum Menandrum? quid comicos omnes? quibus severa vita est et laeta materia'. Ovid uses **iucundus** as an epithet of 'iocus'. P. II. 4. 9 'seria multa mihi tecum conlata recordor, nec data iucundis tempora pauca iocis'. IV. 3. 13 'ille ego, qui primus tua seria nosse solebam et tibi iucundis primus adesse iocis'. Propertius speaks of the wit of Menander III. 21. 28 'librorumque tuos, docte Menandre, sales'.

Menander (343–291 B.C.) was the chief writer of the New Comedy (see Quintilian's appreciation Inst. Or. X. 1. 69 ff.), which dealt not with politics but with private life and the delineation of character, and in which 'love became and always remained the chief topic', Holm, Hist. of Greece, IV. 153, Eng. Tr. (**nulla est sine amore**). See Powell and Barber, New Chapters in Greek Literature, p. 93. He composed more than a hundred comedies, known chiefly through fragments: but considerable portions of twelve have been recently recovered from papyri, conveniently collected in Menandri reliquiae nuper repertae iterum, ed. S. Sudhaus (Bonn 1914), and in Allinson's edition in the Loeb library. His plays furnished material for Plautus, and to a greater extent Terence: of Plautus the Bacchides and Stichus, probably the Poenulus, and possibly the Aulularia, Cistellaria, and Pseudolus, of Terence four of the six extant plays were adapted from Menander, the Andria from the Ἀνδρία and Περινθία, the Eunuchus from the Εὐνοῦχος and Κόλαξ, the Adelphoe from the Ἀδελφοί, the Heautontimorumenos from the Ἑαυτὸν τιμωρούμενος. Since his plays, as Ovid here states, were studied in schools and widely read at Rome (Friedländer, Sittengesch. IV. 5. Stat. Silv. II. 1. 113), Schwering, Rhein. Mus. LXIX (1914), p. 239, suggests that the well-known line of Ovid, A. A. I. 99 'spectatum veniunt; veniunt, spectentur ut ipsae', was based by Ovid on two lines of Menander's Καρχηδόνιος, whence Plautus derived his Poenulus. He compares it with Poen. 337 'sunt illi aliae quas spectare ego, et me spectari volo', 'qui lubet spectare turpis, pulchram spectandam dare?' but as the old-fashioned Plautus was little read in the Augustan age he thinks that Ovid borrowed not from Plautus but from Menander directly.

The stock characters of the comedy of Menander are summed up by Ov. Am. I. 15. 17 'dum fallax servus, durus pater, inproba lena vivent et meretrix blanda, Menandros erit'. Cp. A. A. III. 332.

370. **et**, 'and yet', adversative: so especially in early and imperial Latin; V. 12. 63 'nec possum et cupio non nullos ducere versus'. Cic. N. D. I. 110 'virtus autem actuosa, et deus vester nihil agens'. Iuv. 1. 74 'probitas laudatur et alget'. Sen. Ep. 56. 11 'otiosi videmur, et non sumus'.

hic: Menander's works; inf. 463. Am. II. 1. 5 'me legat in sponsi facie non frigida virgo'. Rem. 71 'Naso legendus erat'. P. III. 2. 30. Prop. I. 7. 13 'me legat assidue post haec neglectus amator'.

pueris virginibusque: boys and girls were taught together in the elementary schools, Mart. VIII. 3. 15 'praelegat ut tumidus rauca te voce magister oderit et grandis virgo bonusque puer'. IX. 68. 1 'quid tibi nobiscum est, ludi scelerate magister, invisum pueris virginibusque caput?' Friedländer, Sittengesch. I. 463. In these the Greek and Roman poets especially were read. To Menander, mentioned here and A. A. III. 332, Ovid adds among authors suitable for female reading (A. A. III. 329 ff.), of Greeks Callimachus, Philetas, Anacreon, Sappho; of Romans Propertius, Gallus, Tibullus, Varro Atacinus, Virgil. Martial includes in the curriculum tragedies and epics, VIII. 3. 13, and recent poetry, III. 69. 7.

371–80. Love is the motive of Homer's epic. The Iliad tells how love caused war between the Trojans and Greeks, and the quarrel of Agamemnon and Achilles. The wooing of Penelope by the suitors, the loves of Ares and Aphrodite, and the loves of Odysseus and Calypso and Circe are the theme of the Odyssey.

371. Early printed editions and a few late manuscripts read **Ilias ipsa quid est nisi turpis adultera,** which Heinsius adopted. The adjective **turpis,** effective in itself, was probably interpolated from H. 13. 133 'quid petitur tanto nisi turpis adultera bello?' cp. H. 4. 34 'peius adulterio turpis adulter obest'. 5. 70 'haerebit gremio turpis amica tuo'. The omission of the superfluous **aliud** is specious, and derives some support from Am. II. 9. 41 'stulte, quid est somnus gelidae nisi mortis imago?' H. 2. 27 'quid feci, nisi non sapienter amavi'. A. A. III. 96 'quid, nisi quam sumes, dic mihi, perdis aquam?' 403 'quid petitur sacris, nisi tantum fama, poetis?' M. I. 743 'de bove nil superest, formae nisi candor, in illa'. X. 234 'idque quid esse potest, nisi versae poena figurae?' XIII. 210 'quid facis interea, qui nil nisi proelia nosti?' But the phrase **quid est aliud nisi** is frequent: Cic. II. Verr. I. 128 'quid est aliud omnibus omnia peccata concedere nisi hoc?' Cael. 32 'quid est aliud, nisi ut eos, qui insectantur, repellamus?' Phil. III. 21 'quid est aliud de eo referre non audere nisi se ipsum hostem indicare?' V. 21 'quid erat aliud nisi denuntiare populo Romano servitutem?' Fin. V. 87 'quid quaerens aliud nisi vitam beatam?' Tusc. I. 64 'philosophia quid est aliud nisi donum?' de Div. II. 15 'quid est aliud fors, quid fortuna nisi cum sic aliquid cecidit?' 78 'quid est aliud nolle moneri a Iove nisi efficere ut', etc. de Sen. 5 'quid est aliud Gigantum modo bellare cum dis nisi naturae repugnare?' Cp. H. 18. 181 'velle quid est aliud fugientia prendere poma?' T. I. 2. 37 'at pia nil aliud quam me dolet exule coniunx'. P. III. 1. 151 'tum pete nil aliud, saevo nisi ab hoste recedam'.

372. **amatorem,** 'paramour'. A. A. II. 564.

373. The construction is **quid prius est illi** (i. q. illic) **quam**

flamma Briseidos (quam)**que ut fecerit.** Though **prius** migh be explained as 'more prominent', cp. Vellei. II. 52. 4 'neque prius neque antiquius quidquam habuit, quam ut incolumis partis dimitteret', or as Cocchia expresses it 'più interessante e notevole nel principio stesso del poema', it means rather 'earlier', as 'prius' adverbial is frequent in Ovid: cp. P. II. 1. 32 'tura prius sanctis inposuisse focis', 65 'inbuero Scythicas si non prius ipse sagittas'. 3. 9 'cura, quid expediat, prius est, quam quid sit honestum'. 5. 45 'te dicente prius fit protinus inpetus illi'.

illi, 'there' in the Iliad, not dative, but the locative from ille. This locative and **isti** are common in Plautus and Terence, Neue II³. 655, but these were constantly altered by scribes to 'illic', 'istic'; thus **illic** in this line is found in many inferior manuscripts and in the early printed editions. See Lindsay, Lat. Language, p. 567. This locative is found in T. I. 1. 17 'si quis, ut in populo, nostri non inmemor illi'. F. VI. 424 'hoc superest illi, Pallada Roma tenet' (so the Vaticanus, which editors usually follow, though Peter reads 'illic' from the Reginensis). It is found in Cael. ap. Cic. (Fam.) VIII. 15. 2. There is reason to suppose that it occurs sometimes in Virgil, though these instances are not undisputed: G. I. 54 'hic segetes, illi veniunt felicius uvae' (Ribbeck) III. 17 'illi ('there' Ribbeck) victor ego et Tyrio conspectus in ostro'. Aen. I. 254 'olli ('then' Ribbeck) subridens oscula libavit natae'. Cp. Servius '"olli" modo "tunc" propter sequentia. pronomen enim non debet poni cum nomine, sed pro ipso nomine, et nullus dicit "illi natae"'. Harder, Archiv. f. L. Lex. I. 254, accepts this, though Gloeckner, Archiv. XIV. 185, disputes it. On Aen. XI. 422 'sunt illis sua funera' Servius remarks 'legitur et "illi", et aut "Aeneae" intellegimus, aut adverbium loci est pro "illic", ut in secundo (661) "patet isti ianua leto" pro "istic".' Aen. X. 557 'isti nunc, metuende, iace' (Ribbeck). In a letter to me Mr. W. M. Lindsay says, 'So far as I can say offhand your instances seem to make a good case for the use of **illi** "there" by Ovid. And who knows how often **illi** of an exemplar may have been changed to **illic** by a scribe or copyist, in ancient as much as in mediaeval times? In the Ambrosian Palimpsest of Plautus "illi" 'there' has been corrected by (I think) a contemporary hand to "illic" in Stich. 471 'cenem illi^c apud te quoniam salvus advenis'.' The form 'illi' is not necessarily an archaism, but may be a form from the popular speech. Lindsay, Glotta 2. 300, quotes from plebeian Latin 'ha' for 'hac'. Forms from the older Latin survived in the popular language, and from it passed sometimes into literary diction. Such are 'haec' for 'hae' Verg. Geor. III. 305 (Neue II³. 417. Lindsay, Lat. Language 434): 'hoc' for 'huc' Aen. VIII. 423, Cic. Fam. X. 11. 2 (Neue II³. 613, 614, Lindsay 568) 'hoc . . . illoc' for 'huc . . . illuc' Catull. 50. 5. Petron. 39. 'istoc' for 'istuc' Cic. Fam. VIII. 4. 1. Suet. Calig. 55. Petron. 57. The following old forms in Ovid may be due to this cause: 'ausim' T. I. 11. 41. Am. II. 4. 1; 16. 21. Rem. 700. M. VI. 561. VIII. 77. P. I. 10. 15 and elsewhere. 'ausit' A. A. II. 601. M. VI. 466. 'faxo' M. III. 271. XII. 594. 'audibam' H. 14. 36. F. III. 507. 'feribant' F. IV. 795. 'molibar' M. II. 582. 'moriri' M. XIV. 215.

flamma: 383; so **igne** 380.

In place of **Briseidos** Heinsius adopted **Chryseidos** from a few unimportant MSS. Then the Iliad is represented as opening with two events: (1) the restoration of the captive Chryseis to her father, (2) the quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles on account of Briseis,

as Ovid tells the story, Rem. 467–84. Then **utque fecerit** introduces the second of these events. But the main subject of Iliad I is not the restoration of the captive Chryseis at the opening, which is subsidiary, but the anger of Achilles at the wrong done to him by Agamemnon in taking from him Briseis; this is indicated by the reading **Briseidos**; thus **utque fecerit** does not introduce a fresh point but repeats, as Ovid frequently does, in the pentameter what had been said in the hexameter; so 31–2, 51–2, 73–4, 141–2, 153–4, 177–8, 247–50. Tank, p. 33, compares I. 1. 53 'donec eram sospes, tituli tangebar amore, quaerendique mihi nominis ardor erat'. A. A. II. 347 'te semper videat, tibi semper praebeat aures, exhibeat vultus noxque diesque tuos'. 219 'inter Ioniacas calathum tenuisse puellas creditur et lanas excoluisse rudes'. I. 349 'fertilior seges est alienis semper in agris, vicinumque pecus grandius uber habet'. Ovid in H. 3 tells the story of Briseis, who is the **rapta puella** here meant, H. 3. 1 'quam legis, a rapta Briseide littera venit'. Rem. 777 'hoc et in abducta Briseide flebat Achilles'. Am. I. 9. 33 'ardet in abducta Briseide magnus Achilles'.

ut, 'how' I. 9. 7. V. 14. 35. M. IV. 47 'an magis, ut sumptis illius filia pennis extremos albis in turribus egerit annos': id. 279. VI. 110.

375–6. The subject of the Odyssey is the adventures of Ulysses on his way back from Troy, his return, and appearance as the great archer who slays the suitors. But Ovid, to enforce his argument, represents the wooing of Penelope by the suitors, which is incidental, as the main motive.

376. **viris**, 'men', contrasted with **vir** 'the lawful husband'. This reading is effective and truly Ovidian, for it is a mannerism of Ovid to repeat in juxtaposition the same word in a different sense. Thus I. 11. 12 'omnis ab hac cura cura levata mea est'. IV. 3. 14 'deque fide certa sit tibi certa fides'. V. 10. 11 'an peragunt solitos communia tempora motus, stantque magis vitae tempora dura meae?' H. 7. 5 'sed merita et famam corpusque animumque pudicum cum male perdiderim, perdere verba leve est'. H. 21. 121 'verba quid exultas tua si mihi verba dederunt', 143 'non ego iuravi; legi iurantia verba'. For this reason **viris** is preferable to the ill-supported **procis**, retained by many editors because 'proci' is the natural Latin rendering of the Homeric *μνηστῆρες*, used e. g. by Planudes in rendering H. 1. 88, and is elsewhere applied to the suitors of Penelope: H. 1. 88. Am. III. 4. 24. Ibis 389. P. III. 1. 108. Hor. Carm. III. 10. 11.

vir, 'husband', 296. H. 20. 49 (in a double sense) 'non sum, qui soleam Paridis reprehendere factum, nec quemquam, qui vir, posset ut esse, fuit.

377. **Maeonides**: Homer, whose mother's name is generally given as Kritheis, was according to one tradition the son of Maeon, Plutarch, vit. 1. 2, p. 240, 15; in Allen's Homeri Opera, vol. 5; vit. 2. 2, p. 244, 14; Proculus, Chrest. p. 99, 15. Certamen, p. 226, 20; vit. 4, p. 245, 1; vit. 6, p. 251, 26. Suidas, in Allen, p. 257, 1. According to Aristotle Maeon was his reputed father, Plutarch, vit. 1. 3, p. 246, 36. Thus he is called *Μαιονίδης* Anth. P. VII. 2. 2; 138. 3; 674. 2. IX. 192. 2; and by Latin poets 'Maeonides' I. 1. 47. IV. 10. 22. Am. I. 15. 9. III. 9. 25. F. II. 120. Mart. V. 10. 8. As Smyrna, in Lydia, was his legendary birthplace, he is also called 'Maeonius', 'the Lydian' I. 6. 21. A. A. II. 4, Maeonia being a name for Lydia. But, though Virgil does call Etruscans 'Maeonidae', Aen. XI. 759, on account of their Lydian origin, to understand **Maeonides** 'the Lydian',

as it is usually explained, is incorrect, since **Maeonides** is no proper place-name.

The story of the detection in adultery by Hephaestus of Ares and Aphrodite is told in Od. VIII. 266–369, and retold by Ovid, A. A. II. 561 foll., M. IV. 171 foll. See Mayor on Iuv. 10. 313.

ligatos: Od. VIII. 296 τὼ δ' ἐς δέμνια βάντε κατέδραθον· ἀμφὶ δὲ δεσμοὶ τεχνήεντες ἔχυντο πολύφρονος Ἡφαίστοιο, οὐδέ τι κινῆσαι μελέων ἦν οὐδ' ἀναεῖραι.

378. **obsceno**: 'impure', 'adulterous', supr. 212. M. X. 465 'accipit obsceno (incestuous) genitor sua viscera lecto'.

prensa: i. q. deprensa. A. A. II. 557 'quo magis, o iuvenes, deprendere parcite vestras . . . crescit amor prensis'. Cp. Am. I. 9. 39 'Mars quoque deprensus fabrilia vincula sensit'. M. IV. 182 'ut venere torum coniunx et adulter in unum, arte viri vinclisque nova ratione paratis in mediis ambo deprensi amplexibus haerent'.

379. **magni**: a standing epithet of Homer: Am. I. 8. 61. Rem. 365. P. III. 9. 24. Hor. Sat. I. 10. 52. Iuv. 10. 246.

380. **duas . . . deas**: Calypso and Circe, who entertained Ulysses in their islands: Od. V. 13 ff. X. 133 ff.

381. **scripti**, 'writing', 'composition', infra 517 n.

383. **in**: 'in the case of' supra 107, infra 430. I. 9. 24. A. A. II. 709 'in Andromache'. Rem. 777 'in abducta Briseide'.

caecae: metaphorical, 'blinded by love'. So Lucan VIII. 398 (of lust) 'Venus, quae ritu caeca ferarum polluit innumeris leges et foedera taedae coniugibus'. Hor. Carm. I. 18. 14 (of self-love) 'caecus amor sui'. Verg. Aen. I. 349 (of avarice) 'auri caecus amor'.

The guilty passion of Phaedra for her step-son Hippolytus, son of Theseus, was the subject of (1) a tragedy, the Phaedra, of Sophocles: Pearson, Fragments of Sophocles, II. 294. Nauck, T. G. F.², p. 279; and two tragedies of Euripides; (2) the earlier, now lost, Hippolytus' καλυπτόμενος, T. G. F.², p. 491; (3) the extant Hippolytus στεφανηφόρος or στεφανίας. Both these plays of Euripides probably inspired Ovid in his version of the legend, H. 4. M. XV. 492 ff. As Ovid's Phaedra is more shameless than the heroine of Euripides' extant play, it has been suggested that the coarser features in her character were derived from the earlier play of Euripides, in which she appeared as a type of female ἀναισχυντία, Pearson, II. 295. Christ, griech. Litt. (ed. 6) I. 359. Suidas mentions an Hippolytus among the tragedies of Lycophron. The Hippolytus of Sopater, of which Athenaeus III. 101 quotes two lines, was a travesty, and is not in Ovid's mind. Seneca's tragedy Hippolytus is extant.

384. The incestuous love of **Canace**, daughter of Aeolus, for her brother Macareus was the subject of the Aeolus of Euripides, Aristoph. Nub. 1371 and Schol. T. G. F.², p. 365. That tragedy is supposed to have been parodied by Aristophanes in his Aeolosicon, Platonius περὶ διαφορᾶς κωμῳδιῶν, xiii b, 38, and by Antiphanes in his Aeolus, T. G. F.², p. 366. Lycophron wrote an Aeolus. The legend is the subject of Ovid, H. 11.

nobilis, 'famous' in the good sense. This fits the context, the prominence of the love-theme in tragedy, better than to take it as 'notorious' in the bad sense, with Loers, for which see Sonnenschein, Plaut. Rud. 619.

385. **quid** introduces an illustration or, as here, further exemplification of the main thought. So joined with **non** Am. I. 7. 7 'quid? non et clipei dominus septemplicis Aiax stravit deprensos lata per

arva greges?' II. 9. 7 'quid? non Haemonius, quem cuspide perculit, heros confossum medica postmodo iuvit ope?' Prop. II. 8. 21 'quid? non Antigonae tumulo Boeotius Haemon corruit ipse suo saucius ense latus?'

Pelops, son of Tantalus (**Tantalides**), king of Sipylus in Phrygia (**Phrygiis**), was furnished with an ivory shoulder by Demeter to replace the shoulder she unwittingly consumed when in his infancy he was served to the gods for a meal. Being expelled from his father's kingdom he went to Pisa in Elis, where he became a suitor of Hippodamia (**Pisaeam**), the daughter of the king Oenomaus. Since an oracle had declared that his son-in-law would kill him, Oenomaus refused his daughter's hand to any but the suitor who should vanquish him in a chariot race. Pelops undertook the contest, trusting to his winged horses, given to him by Poseidon (Pind. Ol. 1. 87), which were matched against the horses of Oenomaus, Psylla, and Harpinna, horses swifter than the north wind, Lycophron, Alexandra 166. Schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 752. Hygin. fab. 84.

The terms were that Pelops should drive with Hippodamia in his chariot, while Oenomaus should be accompanied by his charioteer Myrtilus, and should kill the suitor if unsuccessful. Myrtilus, bribed by Pelops, tampered with the fastenings of Oenomaus' chariot, which overturned. Oenomaus was killed, and Pelops won Hippodamia as his bride and the throne of Elis, Apollod. Epit. II. 9. 2. Philostrat. Imag. I. 17. The theme was represented on the chest of Cypselus, Pausan. V. 17. 7, and is treated by Pind. Ol. I. 67 ff. Apoll. Rhod. I. 753. Cp. Soph. El. 505. Eur. Hel. 386. Iph. T. 824. Lucian, Charid. 19. Prop. I. 2. 19. Ov. Am. III. 2. 15. H. 8. 69. A. A. II. 7.

It was the subject of two tragedies: (1) the Oenomaus of Sophocles, T. G. F.², p. 233. It is improbable either that this tragedy had a double title Οἰνόμαος ἢ Ἱπποδάμεια or that besides the Oenomaus Sophocles wrote another tragedy Hippodamia, Pearson, II. 121. (2) The Oenomaus of Euripides, T. G. F.², p. 539. Accius wrote an Oenomaus, Ribbeck, T. R. F. 200.

386. **eburnus**: Pind. Ol. 1. 27 ἐλέφαντι φαίδιμον ὦμον κεκαδμένον. Verg. G. III. 7 'Hippodameque umeroque Pelops insignis eburno'. Ov. M. VI. 405.

equis includes the chariot, as M. XIV. 820 'inpavidus conscendit equos Gradivus'. P. II. 8. 40. So ἵπποι, often in Homer, as Il. III. 265 ἐξ ἵππων ἀποβάντες. Cp. Prop. I. 2. 20 'avecta externis Hippodamia rotis'.

387. Medea, daughter of Aeetes, after helping Jason to secure the golden fleece, fled with him from Colchis to his home at Iolcos, where, as his wife, she bore him two sons. Later, Jason, having removed with her to Corinth, determined to divorce Medea and marry Creusa (or Glauce), daughter of Creon, king of Corinth. Medea, in revenge, killed her two sons. Apollodor. I. 9.

The legend was a favourite subject of tragedy. Besides (1) the extant Medea of Euripides, (2) an earlier Medea by Neophron of Sicyon preceded it, which Euripides adapted and used in the composition of his play, according to Dicaearchus and the author of the ὑπομνήματα attributed to Aristotle, Argum. Eur. Med. Suidas v. Neophron. Diog. Laert. II. 134. Suidas says that Neophron wrote 120 tragedies, though of this alone the title is recorded. It is probable that this is an error, and that the three fragments which have been preserved of Neophron's tragedy (T. G. F.², p. 730) are not the work

of Neophron, but of a poet who belonged to the Peripatetic circle in the second half of the fourth century, and attempted a new treatment of the Medea legend. Christ, griech. Litt. (ed. 6) I. 358. Christ doubts the existence of a pre-Euripidean Neophron; (3) a Medea of Dicaeogenes, T. G. F.², p. 775; (4) Carcinus, T. G. F.², p. 798; (5) Diogenes of Sinope, T. G. F.², p. 807; (6) Biotus, T. G. F.², p. 825; (7) Euripides the younger, the son of the great tragedian. Suidas. Christ, griech. Litt. I. 389; (8) Morsimus, T. G. F.², p. 838; (9) Antiphanes of Carystus; Pollux VII. 57.

Ennius wrote a 'Medea exul' (Ribbeck, T. R. F. 43), not two tragedies, 'Medea exul' and 'Medea Atheniensis', as was formerly supposed; Vahlen, Ennianae poes. reliquiae, p. ccvii. Schanz. röm. Litt. I. 114. Accius wrote a Medea. Ribbeck, T. R. F. 187. In Seneca's extant Medea the rule of Horace is transgressed, A. P. 185 'ne pueros coram populo Medea trucidet'. Lucan wrote a Medea, Vaccae vit. fin. Ovid's own tragedy Medea, of which two fragments are preserved, was highly esteemed. Tac. Dial. 12 fin. Quintil. Inst. Or. X. 1. 98. He tells the legend M. VII. 350 foll., and Medea is the subject of H. 12, in the concluding lines of which Medea hints at revenge, though the murder of her children is not expressly threatened. Verg. Ec. 8. 47 'saevus Amor docuit natorum sanguine matrem commaculare manus'.

tingeret. M. VII. 599 'exiguo tinxit subiectos sanguine cultros'. Verg. G. III. 492 'tinguntur sanguine cultri'.

ferrum. M. VII. 396 'sanguine natorum perfunditur inpius ensis'.

388. **a**: 28 n.

389. The Thracian king Tereus married Procne, daughter of Pandion, king of Athens, and by her became the father of Itys. At Procne's request her sister Philomela came to visit her, when Tereus, enamoured of Philomela, having violated her, cut out her tongue to prevent discovery, and confined her in a house in a forest. By means of an embroidered representation of the outrage she contrived to communicate with her sister Procne, who freed her from prison. Procne, assisted by Philomela, killed the boy Itys, and served his flesh as a meal to Tereus. The two women fled, pursued by Tereus with an axe, till, when overtaken, they prayed that they might become birds. Procne was transformed into the nightingale, Philomela into the swallow, Tereus into the hoopoe.

Of the nightingale myth (which existed in various forms, the earliest and simplest in Homer, Od. XIX. 518, Pauly-Wissowa v. Aedon) the above is the usual Greek version, Arist. Rhet. III. 3. 4. Conon 31. Pausan. I. 5. 4. X. 4. 9. Apollodor. III. 14. 8. Achill. Tat. V. 5. Eustath. Hom. Od. XIX. 518. This version was dramatized by (1) Sophocles in his tragedy Tereus, T. G. F.², p. 257. Pearson, II. 221. (2) A Tereus formed part of the tetralogy Pandionis of Philocles, T. G. F.², p. 759. Pearson, II. 223. A Tereus was ascribed to Carcinus on the authority of Stobaeus, Flor. 103. 3 Καρκίνου Τυρεύς emended to Τηρεύς by Gaisford, but Nauck reads Τυροῦς and assigns the fragment in question to a tragedy Tyro, T. G. F.², p. 799. A Tereus was written by Livius Andronicus, Ribbeck, T. R. F. 3, and Accius, Ribbeck, T. R. F. 218, and Juvenal, 7. 12, speaks of a Tereus of Faustus.

The regular Latin version inverted the transformations, Procne becoming the swallow, Philomela the nightingale. This had Greek authority since Agatharchides, De mari Erythraeo, Geogr. Gr. Min. I. 114, 33, Müller, says that Philomela was changed into the nightingale,

Tereus into the hoopoe, though he does not mention Procne. In Latin poets frequently Philomela is the nightingale, Procne the swallow, Verg. G. IV. 15, 511. Petron. 131. Mart. XIV. 75. Pervigil. Ven. 86. But in Verg. Ec. 6. 78 Philomela, the nightingale, is Tereus' wife. So Philomela, mourning for Itys, appears to be the wife of Tereus, Ov. Am. II. 6. 7 'quod scelus Ismarii quereris, Philomela, tyranni, expleta est annis ista querela suis. alitis in rarae miserum devertere funus: magna, sed antiqua est causa doloris Itys': whereas she is the paramour in Rem. 61 (cf. Ibis 535) 'arte mea Tereus, quamvis Philomela placeret, per facinus fieri non meruisset avis', and in F. II. 629, P. III. 1. 119 Procne is the wife.

Ovid relates the legend, M. VI. 412–674, agreeing with the version followed by Sophocles, Procne being the wife, and mother of Itys, Philomela the sister; only in describing the transformations, in the case of so well known a legend, he does not specify the birds into which the women were severally transformed, 667 ff. 'corpora Cecropidum pennis pendere putares: pendebant pennis. quarum petit altera silvas, altera tecta subit, neque adhuc de pectore caedis excessere notae, signataque sanguine pluma est'. As Roman poets followed sometimes the Greek and sometimes the Latin version of the legend there is much confusion. In line 390 **mater quae suum luget Ityn** appears to be Procne, transformed into the nightingale, since Ovid here is referring to the tragic form of the myth. In T. V. 1. 59 'est aliquid, fatale malum per verba levare: hoc querulam Procnen Halcyonenque facit' it is uncertain whether Procne is the nightingale or the swallow, for though the epithet 'querulam' rather suggests the nightingale, the swallow may be intended, as the note of both birds is plaintive and dirge-like, Pausan. I. 41. 8 *αὗται αἱ ὄρνιθες ἐλεεινὸν καὶ θρήνῳ ὅμοιον ᾄδουσιν.* The swallow is identified with Procne, the mother and murderess of Itys, T. III. 12. 9 'utque malae matris crimen deponat hirundo sub trabibus cunas tectaque parva facit'. A. A. II. 383 'altera dira parens haec est, quam cernis, hirundo: adspice, signatum sanguine pectus habet'. F. II. 853–6, and the nightingale with Philomela, P. I. 3. 39. Hor. Carm. IV. 12. 5 'nidum ponit Ityn flebiliter gemens infelix avis et Cecropiae domus aeternum opprobrium, quod male barbaras regum est ulta libidines' might refer to the swallow, as most editors such as Kiessling-Heinze take it, but probably Procne as the nightingale is intended, for the nightingale is the harbinger of spring. Sappho, fr. 39 *ἦρος ἄγγελος ἰμερόφωνος ἀήδων.* So complete was the confusion that Pentadius makes Procne the mother of Itys in one poem (P. L. M. IV. 343, 3), Philomela his mother in another (P. L. M. IV. 345, 7).

Often the language is indefinite: Itys, killed by his mother (Am. II. 14. 30), is bewailed by a bird unspecified (Prop. III. 10. 10; F. IV. 482), or more definitely by the Attic bird (Prop. II. 20. 5 'non tam nocturna volucris funesta querela Attica Cecropiis obstrepit in foliis'; Am. III. 12. 32; Mart. X. 51. 4), or by the Daulian bird (Catull. 65. 14 'Daulias absumpti fata gemens Ityli'; H. 15. 154 'concinit Ismarium Daulias ales Ityn'), so called either because, as Thucydides maintained (Thuc. II. 29), Tereus was king at Daulis in Phocis, which was then under Thracian rule, and Itys was killed there (Pausan. X. 4. 6), or because, though Tereus was a king of Thrace, as Ovid represents (M. VI. 424; Am. II. 6. 7 'Ismarii tyranni'), the women were overtaken by Tereus at Daulis, where the transformations took place (Apollodor. III. 14. 8).

subitas, 'suddenly formed'. The word is often used by Ovid of

beings undergoing a transformation of shape. H. 12. 98 'subiti viri' and M. III. 123 'subiti fratres' of the warriors sprung from the dragon's teeth. M. VII. 372 'subitus olor' of Cycnus transformed into a swan. F. III. 723 'subiti pisces' of sailors transformed into dolphins. Ibis 274 'subitae aves' of Daedalion changed into a hawk ('subitis alis' M. XI. 341) and Alcyone into a kingfisher. M. XIII. 617 'praepetibus subitis' of birds formed from the ashes of Memnon. Hilberg, p. 581, according to his law that the first half of the pentameter ends preferably with a syllable long by nature, not by position, conjectures **quaeque tuum luges nunc quoque, mater, Ityn.**

391. Thyestes, brother of Atreus, king of Mycenae, seduced Aerope, the wife of Atreus, and, aided by her, robbed him of the golden lamb, the gift of Hermes, the sign of divine favour. In revenge for this, and for the adultery with Aerope, Atreus killed the three sons of Thyestes, and served up their flesh as a meal to his brother. The sun in horror at the unholy deed turned back his course, and set in the east that day. Schol. Eur. Or. 812 *ἐν τοῖς ποιμνίοις δὲ τοῦ Ἀτρέως εὕρηται χρυσοῦν ἀρνίον μήνιδι Ἑρμοῦ. . . . καὶ μέλλοντος Ἀτρέως δεῖξαι τὸ τέρας τοῖς δικασταῖς, καὶ λαβεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν, Ἀερόπη ἡ τούτου γυνὴ μοιχευομένη Θυέστῃ τῷ αὐταδέλφῳ, κλέψασα τοῦτο παρέδωκεν αὐτῷ. Θυέστης δὲ λαβὼν τοῦτο, καὶ δείξας τοῖς δικασταῖς, τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκράτησε. μὴ ἀνασχόμενος οὖν Ἀτρεὺς τὴν συμφοράν, ἀλλὰ δυσχεραίνων, ὅτι ἀδίκως ἐστέρηται τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὁμοῦ τε τὴν γυναῖκα Ἀερόπην τιμωρεῖται κατ' ἄμφω, καὶ ὅτι ἐμοιχεύετο Θυέστῃ, καὶ ὅτι κέκλοφε τὸ ἀρνίον καὶ δέδωκεν αὐτῷ, ῥίψας αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, ὥς φησι Σοφοκλῆς, καὶ τοὺς τρεῖς υἱοὺς τοῦ Θυέστου, Ἀγλαόν, Ὀρχόμενον, καὶ Κάλεον, ἀποκτείνας παρέθηκεν εἰς τράπεζαν τῷ πατρί, καὶ αὐτὸν ὕστερον ἀπέκτεινεν. δι' ἃ ὁ ἥλιος μὴ στέρξας τὸ παράνομον, μίαν ἡμέραν ἐκ δυσμῶν πρὸς ἕω διφρεύει.* Apollodor. Epit. II. 10. 3–4. Aesch. Ag. 1583 ff. Soph. Ai. 1293. Hygin. fab. 88 and 258.

There were many tragedies on this subject: (1) the Atreus of Sophocles, Pearson, I. 91. T. G. F.², p. 160. His *Θυέστης ἐν Σικυῶνι* treated the later part of the Thyestes legend, Pearson, I. 185. T. G. F.² 184; the Thyestes of (2) Apollodorus (Suidas), (3) Agathon, T. G. F.², p. 763, (4) Chaeremon, T. G. F.², p. 784, (5) Cleophon (Suidas), (6) Diogenes, T. G. F.², p. 808, the Aerope of (7) Agathon, T. G. F.², p. 763, (8) Carcinus, T. G. F.², p. 797, whose Thyestes, mentioned by Aristotle, Poet. 1454 b 23, is possibly the same play. Aerope also played a leading part in (9) the *Κρῆσσαι* of Euripides, T. G. F.², p. 501, Jebb on Soph. Ai. 1295, and probably in his (10) Thyestes, T. G. F.², p. 480, to which probably belongs Eur. fr. 861, T. G. F.², p. 639. See Wagner, Apollodor. Epit., p. 167, and (11) his Plisthenes, T. G. F.², p. 556.

There was a Thyestes by Ennius, Ribbeck, T. R. F. 57, Varius, Ribbeck, loc. cit. 229, Quintil. X. 1. 98, and Gracchus, Ribbeck, loc. cit. 230; an Atreus by Accius, Ribbeck, loc. cit. 161, Pomponius, Ribbeck, loc. cit. 231, and Aemilius Scaurus, Dio LVIII. 24. The Thyestes of Seneca is extant.

392. **aversos . . . equos.** Eur. El. 737 *λέγεται . . . στρέψαι θερμὰν ἀέλιον χρυσωπὸν ἕδραν ἀλλάξαντα δυστυχίᾳ βροτείῳ θνατᾶς ἕνεκεν δίκας.* Or. 1001 *ὅθεν Ἔρις τό τε πτερωτὸν ἁλίου μετέβαλεν ἅρμα, τὰν πρὸς ἑσπέραν κέλευθον οὐρανοῦ προσαρμόσασα μονόπωλον ἐς Ἀῶ.* Iph. T. 193 *ἀλλάξας δ' ἐξ ἕδρας ἱερὸν ὄμμ' αὐγᾶς ἅλιος.* Ov. A. A. I. 327 'Cressa Thyesteo si se abstinuisset amore . . . non medium rupisset iter curruque retorto Auroram versis Phoebus adisset equis'. P. IV. 6. 47 'utque Thyesteae redeant si tempora mensae, Solis ad Eoas currus agetur aquas'. Am. III. 12. 39 'aversumque diem mensis furialibus Atrei'. Aetn. 20 'aversumve

diem'. Stat. S. V. 3. 96 'aversaque caelo sidera'. Theb. IV. 307 'funereae dapes mediique recursus Solis'. Manil. V. 463 'ructantemque patrem natos Solemque reversum'. Lucan I. 543 'qualem fugiente per ortus Sole Thyesteae noctem duxere Mycenae'. Hilberg, p. 581, according to his rule (390 n.), proposes **aversos Soli.**

393. Scylla, daughter of Nisus, king of Megara, when the city was besieged by Minos, fell in love with him, and cut off from her father's head the purple lock of hair on which his safety depended, thus betraying her country and her father. Nisus was changed into a falcon, Scylla into a small bird, the 'ciris', perhaps the peewit (Royds, Beasts, Birds, and Bees of Virgil, p. 47). Pausan. I. 19. 4. Apollodor. III. 15. 8. Hygin. fab. 198. Verg. G. I. 404. Ov. A. A. I. 331. Rem. 67 'inpia si nostros legisset Scylla libellos, haesisset capiti purpura, Nise, tuo'. Prop. III. 19. 21 'tuque, o Minoa venumdata Scylla figura, tondens purpurea regna paterna coma'.

The story is told by Ovid, M. VIII. 1 ff., and in the Ciris by Virgil (undoubtedly one of his early poems written about 48 B.C., T. Frank, Vergil, a biography, p. 35 foll.); these both followed the version of Parthenius in his Metamorphoses.

It is unknown to what tragedy Ovid here refers. He cannot have had in mind the outline of the myth given by Aeschylus, Cho. 613 *ἄλλαν δεῖ τιν' ἐν λόγοις στυγεῖν, φοινίαν Σκύλλαν, ἅτ' ἐχθρῶν ὑπαὶ φῶτ' ἀπώλεσεν φίλον, Κρητικοῖς χρυσεοδμήτοισιν ὅρμοις πιθήσασα, δώροισι Μίνω, Νῖσον ἀθανάτας τριχὸς νοσφίσασα προβούλως πνέουθ' ἁ κυνόφρων ὕπνῳ κιγχάνει δέ μιν Ἑρμῆς.* The legend may have been treated in the Minos of Sophocles, Pearson, II. 69. T. G. F.², p. 220. Nauck supposes that Ovid refers to some tragedy now unknown, T. G. F.², p. 840. The Scylla mentioned by Aristotle, Poet. 1454 a 28 *ἔστιν δε παράδειγμα . . . τοῦ ἀπρεποῦς καὶ μὴ ἁρμόττοντος ὁ θρῆνος ὁ τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως ἐν τῇ Σκύλλῃ* is held now to refer not to a lost tragedy of Euripides, but to a work of the dithyrambic poet Timotheus (Bywater), and the mention of Odysseus points rather to the Homeric Scylla, daughter of Phorcys. See Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Timotheus, p. 111.

coturnos: the high-soled boot worn by tragic actors. Am. III. 1. 63 'alto coturno'. Hor. A. P. 280. Sen. Ep. 76. 31. It often stands for tragedy, the tragic stage: inf. 553. R. 375 'grande sonant tragici: tragicos decet ira coturnos'. P. IV. 16. 29 'Musaque Turrani tragicis innixa coturnis'. Hor. Carm. II. 1. 12 'Cecropio coturno'. Iuv. 6. 634; 7. 72 'non minor antiquo Rubrenus Lappa coturno'.

395. The legend of Electra, sister and accomplice of Orestes, who murdered his mother Clytaemnestra, daughter of Tyndareus, and the adulterer Aegisthus, and was then seized by madness and fled pursued by the Erinyes (T. IV. 4. 69), is treated in the extant Electra of Sophocles and of Euripides, and in the Orestes of Euripides. Orestes was the title of tragedies by Carcinus, T. G. F.², p. 798, Euripides the younger (Suidas), Theodectes, T. G. F.², p. 803, and Timesitheus (Suidas). The legend is the theme of the Oresteia of Aeschylus. Ion wrote an Agamemnon, T. G. F.², p. 732. Sophocles wrote a Clytaemestra, Pearson, II. 13; T. G. F.², p. 204, and an Aegisthus is attributed to him on doubtful evidence, Pearson, I. 21. T. G. F.², p. 136. There was an Aegisthus by Livius Andronicus, Ribbeck, T. R. F. 1, and Accius, Ribbeck, loc. cit., 138, a Clutemestra by the latter, Ribbeck, loc. cit., 139, and a Eumenides by Ennius, Ribbeck, loc. cit., 32. Seneca's Agamemnon survives.

397. Bellerophon of Corinth after committing murder fled for refuge

to Proetus, king of Tiryns, whose wife, Antea or Stheneboea, fell in love with him, but, as he spurned her advances, accused him of impropriety. Therefore Proetus sent him to his father-in-law Iobates, king of Lycia, to be put to death. Iobates, among other dangerous tasks, set him to destroy the fire-breathing Chimaera, which he killed, Hom. Il. VI. 150–211. Apollodor. II. 3. 1. Hygin. fab. 57. Hor. Carm. III. 7. 13. Ov. Ibis 255. (1) Sophocles treated the legend in his Iobates, Pearson, I. 214; T.G.F.^{2}, p. 194, and (2) Euripides in his Stheneboea, T. G. F.^{2}, p. 567. Astydamas the younger wrote a Bellerophon (Suidas). The Bellerophon of Euripides was concerned with the hero's attempt to ascend to heaven (Pind. Isth. 7. 44) and his subsequent misfortunes, T. G. F.^{2}, p. 443.

nam: elliptical: '(I have said enough) for why should I speak of Bellerophon', &c.? This use is common by which **nam** introduces further illustration which is rapidly passed over as being so generally recognized that it needs only to be mentioned. Prop. III. 11. 27 'nam quid ego heroas, quid raptem in crimina divos?' Quintil. X. 1. 12 (Peterson's n.). Ovid has said enough to prove his contention. The further illustrations introduced five times by **quid**, to which **nam** directly refers, are superfluous. Their superfluity is summed up in 407–8. Therefore Riese's conjecture **num**, accepted by Ehwald, is unnecessary.

tetrico: 'austere'. Am. III. 8. 61 'exaequet tetricas licet illa Sabinas'.

399. Hermione, daughter of Menelaus and Helen, was betrothed to Orestes by her grandfather Tyndareus, during the absence of Menelaus at Troy. When Menelaus returned, he took her from Orestes and gave her to Neoptolemus, in revenge for which Orestes murdered Neoptolemus. Eustath. Od., p. 1479. 10. The legend was the subject of the Hermione of Sophocles, Pearson, I. 141. T. G. F.^{2}, p. 176, and was treated bv Euripides in the extant Andromache, and by Philocles, T. G. F.^{2}, p. 760; in Latin in the Hermiona of Livius Andronicus, Ribbeck T.R.F. 3, and Pacuvius, Ribbeck, loc. cit. 96, and by Ovid, H. 8.

Schoeneia virgo. Atalanta, daughter of the Boeotian Schoeneus (M. X. 609; 'Schoeneia' 660; 'virgo Schoeneia' H. 16. 265. Am. I. 7. 13), refused to marry any suitor who could not defeat her in a foot-race. Hippomenes won her as his bride by dropping golden apples brought from Tamesus in Cyprus, given to him by Venus, which Atalanta stopped to pick up. The legend was told by Hesiod, Catalog. fr. 14 (Evelyn-White) and by Ov. M. X. 560 ff. Hygin. fab. 185. The golden apples are called 'Hesperidum mala' Verg. Ec. 6. 61, 'Hesperidum munus' Catalept. 9. 25. The Boeotian Atalanta, daughter of Schoeneus, is often confused with the Arcadian Atalanta, daughter of Iasion, the subject of Swinburne's Atalanta in Calydon, who took part in the Calydonian boar-hunt, was loved by Meleager, and was subsequently won in marriage by Milanion, Apollod. I. 8. 3. III. 9. 2. Ovid probably confused the two, for the Boeotian Atalanta is not known to have been the subject of a tragedy, whereas the Arcadian Atalanta figured prominently in the Meleager of Euripides, T. G. F.^{2}, p. 525; in the Meleager of Sophocles her part seems to have been unimportant, Pearson, II. 64, T.G.F.^{2}, p. 219. Antiphon, T.G.F.^{2}, p. 792, and Sosiphanes, ibid. p. 819, each wrote a Meleager. Of the Atalanta of Aeschylus, ibid., p. 9, and Aristias, ibid., p. 726, nothing can be asserted. Pacuvius, Ribbeck, T. R. F. 82, and Gracchus, ibid. 230, wrote an Atalanta, Accius a Meleager, Ribbeck, loc. cit. 193.

400. **Phoebas**: Cassandra, 'priestess of Phoebus' Eur. Hec. 827 ἡ φοιβάς, ἣν καλοῦσι Κασάνδραν Φρύγες. M. XIII. 410 'antistita Phoebi', so called because Apollo inspired her with the gift of prophecy. Am. II. 8. 12 'serva Mycenaeo Phoebas amata duci'. Cassandra, daughter of Priam, recognized her brother Paris as the king's son and saved him when Deiphobus was about to kill him, Hygin. fab. 91. This was the subject of the Alexandros of Sophocles, Pearson, I. 57. T. G. F.², p. 150. Nicomachus also wrote an Alexandros (Suidas). When Troy was taken Cassandra fled to the temple of Athena, from which she was torn by the Locrian Ajax, who according to some accounts violated her. The trial of Ajax for this outrage seems to have been the subject of the Αἴας Λοκρός of Sophocles, Pearson, I. 8. T. G. F.², p. 132. Eur. Tro. 69 ff. Ov. Am. I. 7. 17. M. XIII. 410. She was seized as his booty by Agamemnon, king of Mycenae (**Mycenaeo duci** Am. II. 8. 12 'serva Mycenaeo Phoebas amata duci'), and forced to an illicit marriage, Eur. Tro. 44, 294. In Tro. 308 she appears singing a frantic marriage song. In the Agamemnon of Aeschylus she returns with Agamemnon as his bride to Argolis, and forsees his and her own murder by Clytaemnestra, which is accomplished in the play. Cp. Tro. 593. Ennius wrote an Alexander, Ribbeck, T. R. F. 19.

401. **Danae**, daughter of Acrisius, was imprisoned in a bronze-bound chamber or bronze tower by her father, because the oracle at Delphi declared that he would be killed by his daughter's son. There she was visited by Zeus in golden rain and became the mother of Perseus. Acrisius set mother and child adrift in a chest on the Aegean, which conveyed them safely to Seriphus where the chest was caught in fishermen's nets, Simonid. fr. 37. Soph. Ant. 944. Sophocles, Pearson, I. 115. T. G. F.² 168; and Euripides, T. G. F.² 453, wrote tragedies entitled Danae, and the arrival at Seriphus was treated by Aeschylus in the Δικτυουλκοί, T. G. F.² 17. The rescue and protection of Danae at Seriphus was the theme of the Dictys of Euripides T. G. F.² 459. Livius Andronicus, Ribbeck, T. R. F. 3, and Naevius, Ribbeck, loc. cit. 7, each wrote a Danae. The legend is told by Ovid, M. IV. 604, and Horace, Carm. III. 16. 1. Ov. Am. II. 19. 27 'si numquam Danaen habuisset aenea turris, non esset Danae de Iove facta parens'. III. 4. 21 'in thalamum Danae ferro saxoque perennem quae fuerat virgo tradita, mater erat'. A. A. III. 415 'quis Danaen nosset, si semper clusa fuisset inque sua turri perlatuisset anus?'

Danaes nurum: Andromeda, daughter of Cepheus, who was saved from a sea-monster and taken to wife by Perseus. She was the subject of the Andromeda of Sophocles, Pearson, I. 78, T. G. F.² 157, Euripides, T. G. F.² 392, Phrynichus and Lycophron (Suidas), and perhaps of the Perseus of Aristias, T. G. F.² 726. Livius Andronicus, Ribbeck, T. R. F. 3, Ennius, Ribbeck, loc. cit. 27, and Accius, Ribbeck, loc. cit. 148, each wrote a tragedy Andromeda. The legend is told by Ovid, M. IV. 663 and Manilius V. 538.

matrem Lyaei: Semele, daughter of Cadmus, who became by Zeus the mother of Dionysus (**Lyaeus**). At her request Zeus appeared to her as the God of thunder and lightning. She was consumed by the flames, but Zeus saved the babe Dionysus from destruction. Apollodor. III. 4. 3. Tragedies on the subject were the Σεμέλη ἢ ὑδροφόροι of Aeschylus, T. G. F.² 73, the Semele of Diogenes, T. G. F.² 776, and Carcinus, ibid. 798, and the Σεμέλη κεραυνουμένη of Spintharus (Suidas). The birth of Dionysus is described by Euripides, Bacch. 84 ff. Ovid tells the legend, M. III. 253.

Lyaei: epithet of the wine god as 'releaser' (λυαῖος, λύω) from cares. Plut. Quom. adul. 27, p. 165, 9. Bern. τῷ Λυαίῳ θεῷ καὶ λύοντι τὸ τῶν δυσφόρων σκύνιον μεριμνῶν' κατὰ Πίνδαρον. A. A. I. 238 'cura fugit multo diluiturque mero'. Hor. Carm. IV. 12. 19.

402. **Haemon**, a son of Creon, was the lover of Antigone. When she hanged herself in the rock-tomb in which she was buried alive by his father, he slew himself. Thus the legend is told by Sophocles in the Antigone. In the Antigone of Euripides the love-motive was prominent: the play ended not with the death but with the marriage of Haemon and Antigone. T. G. F.[2] 404. Jebb, Soph. Ant., p. xxxvii. Astydamas (probably the father) wrote an Antigone. T. G. F.[2] 777. There was an Antigone by Accius, Ribbeck, T. R. F.[2] 153. Prop. II. 8. 21 'quid? non Antigonae tumulo Boeotius Haemon corruit ipse suo saucius ense latus?' Ibis 559 'nec tibi, siquid amas, felicius Haemone cedat'.

noctes cui coiere duae: Alcmena, wife of Amphitryon, was loved by Zeus, by whom she became the mother of Hercules; for the begetting of so strong a hero the night was preternaturally lengthened, hence the title of the comedy of Plato νὺξ μακρά, the subject of which was probably similar to that of the Amphitruo of Plautus, Casaubon on Athenae. III. 110 d. Meineke, Com. Graec. I. 176. According to the version of the legend here followed one night was extended to the length of two, Hygin. fab. 29 '(Iuppiter) tam libens cum ea concubuit, ut unum diem usurparet, duas noctes congeminaret, ita ut Alcmena tam longam noctem admiraretur'. Ov. Am. I. 13. 45 'ipse deum genitor, ne te (luna) tam saepe videret, commisit noctes in sua vota duas'. Sen. Dial. X. 16. 5. Stat. Silv. IV. 6. 17: according to others it was lengthened to the duration of three, Apollod. II. 4. 8. Diodor. IV. 9. 2. Lucian, Dial. Deor. 10. Schol. Il. XIV. 342. Lycophr. Alex. 33. Plaut. Amph. 314. Serv. Aen. VIII. 103.

cui, 'for whom', on whose behalf, viz. not Jupiter (Landi) but Alcmena (Loers). Prop. II. 22. 25 'Iuppiter Alcmenae geminas requieverat arctos, et caelum noctu bis sine rege fuit'. Lucian, Dial. Deor. 10. 2 νῦν δὲ δυστήνου γυναίου ἕνεκα χρὴ ἀνεστράφθαι τὰ πάντα. Sen. Herc. Oet. 1697 'iste est pater, cui nocte commissa dies quievit unus'.

cui . . . duae: the correction of Rover and Heinsius for **quae** (**qui** L) . . . **duas**, is confirmed by the fact that **qui** is the reading of L. 'Qui' is elsewhere found in MSS. for 'cui', see Neue, Formenlehre II. (ed. 3) 454. Thus in Catullus I. 1 'qui' for 'cui' is found in some, though in none of the chief MSS., as used to be stated. Friedrich on Catull. I. 1. Also **quae** the vulgate reading may have arisen from misreading of a contraction of 'qui' since 'q.' in MSS. does duty sometimes for 'qui', sometimes for 'quae(que)'. Lindsay, Notae Latinae, pp. 207, 242. The vulgate reading **noctes, quae coiere, duas**, retained by many editors or **qui** (L) **coiere duas**, suggested by Goldbacher, p. 278 (so Ehwald-Levy), are both inferior to the correction in the text, for as each tragedy in this catalogue is indicated by the person playing a main part in it, not by a mere description, the circumlocution expressing Alcmena, the woman, rather than the phrase 'two nights' comes naturally as a sequel following after Danae, Andromeda, Semele, and Haemon.

The legend of Alcmena was treated in the Alcmena of Aeschylus, T. G. F.[2] 6, Euripides, ibid. 386, of Ion, ibid. 733, the younger Astydamas, ibid. 777, Dionysius, ibid. 793, and in the Amphitryon of Sophocles,

Pearson, I. 76. T. G. F.[2] 156. Of the Amphitryon of Aeschylus Alexandrinus, T. G. F.[2] 824, nothing can be asserted. Accius wrote an Amphitruo, Ribbeck, T. R. F. 146.

403. **Peliae generum**: Admetus, king of Pherae, husband of Alcestis, daughter of Pelias, whose love for her husband was such that she consented to devote herself to death for him. Apollodor. I. 9. 15. Hygin. fab. 51. Ov. T. V. 5. 55; 14. 37. P. III. 1. 106. Plat. Symp. 179 b cites Alcestis as an example of noble love. Besides the extant Alcestis of Euripides, Phrynichus wrote an Alcestis, T. G. F.[2] 720. A satyric play by Sophocles introduced Alcestis, Pearson, Soph., fr. 851. Accius wrote an Alcestis, Ribbeck, T. R. F. 143.

Thesea: the legend of Theseus, who slew the Minotaur, carried off Ariadne and deserted her at Naxos, was treated in the Theseus of Sophocles, Pearson, I. 184, T. G. F.[2] 184; of Euripides, T. G. F.[2] 477, and Achaeus, ibid. 751, and in the Aegeus of Sophocles, Pearson, I. 15, T. G. F.[2] 134, and of Euripides, ibid. 363. Theseus also appears in the Supplices and Hercules Furens of Euripides.

Before his marriage with Phaedra, Theseus abducted and married the Amazon Antiope, Plut. Thes. 26. But this legend does not seem to have been treated in tragedy. He also carried off Helen from Sparta, Plut. Thes. 31. Hygin. fab. 79. Apollodor. III. 10. 7 *γενομένην δὲ αὐτὴν κάλλει διαπρεπῆ Θησεὺς ἁρπάσας εἰς Ἀθήνας ἐκόμισε.* The language of Apollodorus, and this reference in Ovid, who includes as many tragedies as possible in his survey, incline me to think that the play *Ἑλένης ἁρπαγή*, mentioned in the argument to the Ajax, related to this adventure of Theseus, not to the seizure of Helen by Paris, as Mr. Pearson holds, Fragments of Sophocles, i. 123.

Pelasgum primus: Protesilaus, a Thessalian prince, was the first of the Greeks to leap from his ship upon the shore of Troy, though he was aware of the existence of a prophecy that whoever should first set foot on Trojan ground was destined to be killed. Hom. Il. II. 701 *τὸν δ' ἔκτανε Δάρδανος ἀνὴρ νηὸς ἀποθρώσκοντα πολὺ πρώτιστον Ἀχαιῶν.* Hygin. fab. 103 'Achivis fuit responsum, qui primus litora Troianorum attigisset, periturum. cum Achivi classes applicuissent, ceteris cunctantibus, Iolaus Iphicli et Diomedeae filius primus e navi prosilivit, qui ab Hectore confestim est interfectus: quem cuncti appellarunt Protesilaum, quoniam primus ex omnibus perierat'. Ov. H. 13. 93 'sors quoque nescio quem fato designat iniquo, qui primus Danaum Troada tangat humum'. Auson. Epigr. 41. 5 (p. 327 Peiper) 'Protesilae, tibi nomen sic fata dederunt, victima quod Troiae prima futurus eras'. Homer merely says that he was killed by a Dardan; the common tradition was that he was slain by Hector, so M. XII. 67 'Hectorea primus fataliter hasta, Protesilae, cadis'. His death was an episode in the *Ποιμένες* of Sophocles, Pearson, II. 148. T. G. F.[2] 241. Ovid, H. 13 is a letter from his wife Laodamia to Protesilaus warning him of his danger. The passionate conjugal affection of Protesilaus and Laodamia, the Paolo and Francesca of antiquity, whose marvellous love endured after death, Schol. Aristid. p. 671, is celebrated by Catullus 68. 80–4, 105–8. This story was the subject of the Protesilaus of Euripides, the plot of which, according to Nauck, T. G. F.[2] 563, was condensed by Hyginus, fab. 103, 104: and Euripides' play is probably the source of Eustathius on Il. II. 701, p. 325. 1 *παθαίνεται δὲ Ὅμηρος ἐν τούτοις ἐπὶ τῷ Πρωτεσιλάῳ οἷα φιλέλληνα οἰκτιζόμενος, ἔστι δὲ καὶ θαυμάζων τοῦ θάρσους εἴπερ*

χρησμοῦ δοθέντος πρῶτον ἐν Τροίᾳ πεσεῖν
τὸν . . . προπηδήσαντα τῆς νεώς,
Ἀχιλλεὺς μὲν ὑπέτρεσε. κατά τινας καὶ τελευταῖος εἰς γῆν ὁ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρώτιστος κατεπήδησεν· Πρωτεσίλαος δὲ φερωνύμως πρώτός τε τοῦ λαοῦ καθήλατο τῆς νεὼς καὶ πρῶτος τοῦ λαοῦ πέπτωκε, ἑλόμενος οὕτω παθεῖν ἤπερ κατεπτηχότας βλέπειν τοὺς Ἀχαιούς . . . γυνὴ δὲ Πρωτεσιλάῳ Λαοδάμεια ἡ Ἀκάστου φίλανδρος πάνυ καὶ μὴ ἀνασχομένη ζῆν μετὰ τὸν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς θάνατον, περὶ ἧς λόγος φέρεται τοιοῦτος. Πρωτεσίλαος καὶ μετὰ θάνατον ἐρῶν τῆς γυναικὸς κατὰ μῆνιν Ἀφροδίτης ᾐτήσατο τοὺς κάτωθεν ὄντας ἀνελθεῖν, καὶ ἀνελθὼν εὗρεν ἐκείνην ἀγάλματι αὐτοῦ περικειμένην. αἰτήσαντος δέ φασι μὴ ὑστερεῖν αὐτοῦ ξίφει διεχρήσατο ἑαυτήν. Ovid often refers to the legend: Am. II. 18. 38. A. A. III. 17. T. I. 6. 20. V. 5. 57; 14. 39. P. III. 1. 109. Pacuvius wrote a tragedy Protesilaus, Ribbeck, T. R. F. 116. The tragedy Protesilaus ascribed to C. Titius is probably apocryphal, Schanz, röm. Litt. I². 185.

For **quive**, the reading of the Paris St. Geneviève MS., already conjectured by Merkel, L has **quisve**, Γω **quidve**. The reading **quive** is preferable to Ehwald's conjecture **quique**, supported by Hilberg, p. 221, because the clause concerning Protesilaus is not a mere continuation of what went before, but a fresh and different proposition, which being framed as an interrogation is appropriately connected by **-ve** as being something different. So Vogel, p. 30. Parallels to this use of **-ve** are M. II. 436 'sed quem superare puella, quisve Iovem poterat?' III. 454 'quid me, puer unice, fallis, quove petitus abis?' P. III. 2. 79 'qua vos tamen urbe venitis? quodve parum fausta puppe petistis iter?' IV. 10. 65 'si roget haec aliquis cur sint narrata Pedoni, quidve loqui certis iuverit ista modis'. Ter. Andr. 748 'puer hic undest? quisve huc attulit?' Verg. Aen. I. 369 'quibus aut venistis ab oris? quove tenetis iter?' II. 74 'hortamur fari, quo sanguine cretus, quidve ferat'.

The **Pelasgi**, a primitive Greek tribe, in post-Homeric Greek writers and Latin poets often stand for the Greeks generally. **Pelasgum** is genitive plural, Lachmann, Lucr. V. 727, a form found in Verg. Aen. VI. 503. Stat. Ach. I. 751. Theb. VII. 532; X. 2; XII. 68. Val. Flacc. II. 657; III. 126, 221; IV. 352. So 'Danaum' Ov. H. 13. 94. Graium M. XIII. 281. As **Pelasgum** is clearly designed to render the genitive *Ἀχαιῶν* and **de rate** *νηὸς* in Hom. Il. II. 702 *νηὸς ἀποθρώσκοντα πολὺ πρώτιστον Ἀχαιῶν* (so *προπηδήσαντα τῆς νεώς*, Eustath. quoted above), the reading which I have accepted **quive Pelasgum . . . tetigit de rate primus** is superior to that of the vulgate, retained by Heinsius, **quidve Pelasgum . . . tetigit qui rate**, since then **Pelasgum** is understood as an accusative, a less close version of the Greek original. The construction is 'quidve (eum loquar) qui?'

405. **Iole**, daughter of Eurytus, king of Oechalia, was carried off by Hercules when he killed Eurytus. When his wife Deianeira discovered that Hercules had become enamoured of Iole she sent him a robe dipped in the blood of the dying Centaur Nessus, which Nessus had told her would act as a charm to recover the affection of her husband, if unfaithful. When Hercules, about to sacrifice, put on the robe, it poisoned his flesh, and produced the agony which led to his death by burning on the pyre on Oeta. Before his death he commanded his son Hyllus to marry Iole, Soph. Trach. 1219. The jealousy of Deianeira, **Herculis uxor**, on account of Iole, and the death of Hercules is the subject of Sophocles' Trachi-

niae. In H. 9 Ovid follows Sophocles' version of the legend, which he also tells M. IX. 134 ff. The legend is told by Apollodor. II. 7. 7. Hygin. fab. 34, 35, 36.

It would appear from this line that a tragedy entitled **Iole** also existed, of which we know nothing. The subject was probably treated in the Ἡρακλῆς περικαιόμενος of Spintharus (Suidas), and perhaps in the Ἡρακλῆς of Diogenes, T. G. F.[2] 808, and Εὐρυτίδαι of Ion, ibid. 734. Seneca's extant Hercules Oetaeus is based on Sophocles with some amplifications, Leo, Seneca, Trag. I. 73.

Pyrrhi parens: Deidamia, daughter of Lycomedes, king of Scyros. Achilles, when concealed at his court in maiden's attire, became by her the father of Pyrrhus, also called Neoptolemus, Apollodor. III. 13. 8. The Σκύριοι of Euripides dealt with the concealment of Achilles, and his discovery by Odysseus (T. G. F.[2] 574); the Σκύριοι of Sophocles with the parting of Neoptolemus from his mother Deidamia, when Odysseus fetched him from Scyros, Pearson, Fragments of Sophocles, II. 192: cp. ibid. I. 120. T. G. F.[2] 253: cp. ibid. 840. A Neoptolemus is mentioned among the tragedies of Nicomachus by Suidas; a fragment of a Neoptolemus by Mimnermus exists, T. G. F.[2] 829. Aristotle speaks of a Neoptolemus among the tragedies derived from the little Iliad, Poet. 1459 b 6. See Proculus, Chrestomath. in Allen's Homeri Opera V. 106. Accius wrote a Neoptolemus, Ribbeck, T. R. F. 196. Ovid tells the story, A. A. I. 681–704.

Ciofanus, followed by Harles, Platz, and Némethy, understood **Pyrrhi parens** to be Achilles, the father of Pyrrhus. But the 'mother' rather is the meaning required to balance the two other women mentioned, Iole and Deianira. **parens** signifies 'parent', either male or female: in Ovid it means 'mother' often, as Am. II. 14. 31 'utraque saeva parens' (Medea and Philomela), M. I. 749 (Io, mother of Epaphus), II. 496 (Callisto, mother of Arcas), VIII. 475 (Althaea, mother of Meleager), P. II. 3. 98 'salva parens' (the mother of Maximus).

406. **Hylas**, son of Thiodamas, king of the Dryopes, the boy companion of Hercules on the Argonautic expedition. Being sent to fetch water, he was drawn down beneath the water of the river Ascanius by the Nymphs, who fell in love with him. His fate and Hercules' fruitless search for him was a favourite subject with poets, Verg. Geor. III. 6 'cui non dictus Hylas puer?' Iuv. 1. 164. The legend is told by Apollodorus I. 9. 19. Hygin. fab. 14. Theocrit. 13. Ap. Rhod. I. 1207. Prop. I. 20. Val. Flacc. III. 560. Cp. Verg. Ec. 6. 44. Ov. A. A. II. 110.

Hylas no doubt formed the subject of a tragedy, as a part of the Hercules legend. The line in Aristoph. Plut. 1127 ποθεῖς τὸν οὐ παρόντα καὶ μάτην καλεῖς, stated by the scholiast to be the answer of the nymphs to the cries of Hercules, is supposed to be taken from this tragedy. Nauck, T. G. F.[2] 851.

Iliacus puer: Ganymede, the son of Tros, whom on account of his beauty Zeus carried off to heaven to be his cupbearer. Hom. Il. XX. 232. Hymn. 5. 202. He is introduced in Soph. Colchides, fr. 345. Pearson (320 Nauck), Eurip. Tro. 820. Or. 1391. Iph. A. 1049. Cycl. 582. Though he is not known to have been the subject of a tragedy, the fact that comedies of which his name was the title occur in the middle comedy by Alcaeus, Meineke II. 825, Antiphanes, ibid. III. 40, and Eubulus, ibid. III. 213, intimates the existence of a tragedy of which these were burlesques.

Iliacus puer, the reading of LGHPV, is supported by the imitation of Iuv. 13. 43 'puer Iliacus'. Mart. II. 43. 13 'grex tuas Iliaco poterat certare cinaedo'. III. 39. 1 'Iliaco ministro'. The adj. **Iliacus** is common in Ovid, sup. 404. I. 5. 60. V. 5. 57; 14. 40. Many editors after Heinsius adopt **Iliades**, the reading of A and most MSS., which may have been interpolated from M. X. 160 'percusso mendacibus aere pennis abripit Iliaden', where 'Iliades', 'the Trojan', is a substantive formed from Ilium, as Troas, Troades (Τρῳάς, Τρῳάδες) from Troia. In Ovid 'Iliades' usually means a son of Ilia. Am. III. 4. 40 'Romulus Iliades Iliadesque Remus'. M. XIV. 781, 824. F. III. 62; IV. 23; V. 565. T. IV. 3. 8.

407. **tempore deficiar**, 'I shall be lacking of (lit. deserted by) time'. The construction of this passive with the ablative is not uncommon: Ibis 119 'solito defecta favore fortunae facies invidiosa tuae'. P. III. 4. 37 'his ego defectus'. Cic. Cluent. 184 'mulier consilio et ratione deficitur'. Aetna 617 'defectum raptis illum sua carmina tardant'. Phaedr. I. 21. 3 'defectus annis et desertus viribus'. Sen. Hipp. 375 'viribus defecta'. Plin. Ep. Trai. 90. 1 'Sinopenses aqua deficiuntur'. It is constructed with redundant 'ab' H. 5. 150 'deficior prudens artis ab arte mea'.

tragicos . . . ignes, 'love's tragic flames' (Saltonstall), the passionate loves described in tragedy: cp. 537. IV. 10. 45 'saepe suos solitus recitare Propertius ignes'. So 'flamma' 373, 'igne' 380.

Lafaye, les Métamorphoses d'Ovide et leurs modèles grecs, p. 167, remarks that the theme of love was prominent in the tragedies of Euripides and probably also in those of the Greek tragedians who succeeded him; and that this was their principal attraction for Ovid; but that he exaggerates, and forgets Aeschylus and Sophocles, when he says that in spite of the elevation of its purpose tragedy is always concerned with love (supr. 381–2). The twenty-six subjects which he proceeds to enumerate are selected in a manner to justify this statement, and in concluding he declares in this couplet that it would take too long to recount the **tragicos ignes**, since he might have filled his book by merely quoting their titles. Although the requirements of his case exercise here a too preponderating influence on Ovid's judgement, it is in fact certain that without going beyond tragedy he might have collected a large number of romantic legends. The Metamorphoses exhibits all the varieties of the amorous passion: it is one of the chief elements in the poem, perhaps, indeed, that which above all now strikes the reader. It is everywhere the dominant factor. If Ovid had read nothing but Euripides and the later tragedians, he would probably have had enough models for the erotic part of his poem: even among the dramas of love, which he enumerates here in the Tristia, there are many which he has at least touched upon in the Metamorphoses. These are Hippolytus 383, M. XV. 492–546, Tereus 389, M. VI. 412–674, Atalanta 399, M. X. 560–707, Semele 401, M. III. 253–315.

409–12. Ovid now passes, like Horace, A. P. 220 foll., from tragedy to its accessory the Satyric drama, which was distinguished by a certain boisterous and coarse humour, a feature which was determined by the character of its chorus of frolicsome impudent sensual satyrs. Thus Demetrius, de Elocut. 169, terms the satyric drama *τραγῳδία παίζουσα*. A single example of this satyric drama is cited by Ovid, the *Ἀχιλλέως ἐρασταί* of Sophocles.

If these two couplets are interpreted as referring to the satyric drama

all difficulty is removed as to the work to which the words **mollem Achillem** allude. This is clearly the satyr play *Ἀχιλλέως ἐρασταί* of Sophocles, in which Achilles was represented as the type of the Athenian *παῖς καλός*, the satyrs and probably Hercules being his lovers, Pearson, Soph. Fragments I. 103. T. G. F.[2] 165. Therefore the idea of Heinsius must be rejected that the reference is to some work of the Alexandrine poet Sotades, who flourished in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus (283–246 B. C.) and wrote lascivious poems, *ἰωνικά*, Athenae. 620 e. Strabo XIV. 1. 41 *ἦρξε δὲ Σωτάδης μὲν πρῶτος τοῦ κιναιδολογεῖν*, and who amongst other things took subjects from Homer, Strabo VIII. 3. 17. I now withdraw my suggestion, Classical Quarterly VIII. 26, that the reference is to the *ἱλαροτραγῳδία* of Rhinthon, who flourished in the time of Ptolemy I (306–283 B. C.). Christ, Griech. Litt. (ed. 3) II. 1. 135. His fragments in Kaibel, Com. Graec. Fragmenta I. 1. 185 foll.

409. I have restored to the text **commixta** from GHP (**commista** L^3 V), which was probably also the reading of the first hand of L now erased. Editors usually adopt the vulgate reading **deflexa,** which would mean 'tragedy was diverted to indecent jokes'. But **deflexa** is probably merely a gloss intended to explain the daring expression **commixta,** as Vogel, p. 31, and Cocchia point out. On the other hand **commixta** is forcible, 'tragedy was made composite in character (was contaminated) so as to contain indecent jokes' or 'to become indecent jesting'. Thus (of mixed metaphor) Quintil. Inst. Or. VIII. 6. 48 'illud commixtum frequentissimum. . . . nisi adiecisset "dumtaxat fluctibus contionum", esset allegoria: nunc eam miscuit'. Ehwald, Jahresbericht CIX (1902), p. 283, who supports my restoration, compares Plaut. Amph. 59 'faciam ut commixta sit: sit tragicomoedia'.

in, 'with a view to', so as to produce, a use of the preposition of which Ovid is fond. H. 4. 16 'figat sic animos in mea vota tuos'. 5. 24 'crescite et in titulos surgite recta meos'. 10. 114 'flaminaque in lacrimas officiosa meas'. 15. 197 'non mihi respondent veteres in carmina vires', cp. F. I. 17 'dederis in carmina vires'. M. VII. 738 'in mea pugno vulnera'. VIII. 757 'obliquos dum telum vibrat in ictus'. XIV. 51 'curvos sinuatus in arcus'. 71 'in Circes odium sociis spoliavit Vlixen'. 99 'natae dira in periuria linguae'. XV. 367 'in spemque laborant'. T. IV. 7. 3 'cur non tua dextera versus quamlibet in paucos officiosa fuit?' V. 7. 28 'Musa nec in plausus ambitiosa mea est'. P. III. 2. 34 'in laudes vivit uterque suas'. Mart. XI. 11. 5 'qui Mentora frangis in scaphium'.

obscenos risus, as for instance in Eur. Cycl. 328, 585 foll. Besides the Cyclops of Euripides we have not much left by which to judge the satyric drama. A portion of a satyric play of unknown authorship has been published by Hunt, Oxyrhynchus Papyri VIII. 60. More important than this is the long portion of the *Ἰχνευταί* of Sophocles published by Hunt, Oxyrhynchus Papyri IX. 30, and edited by Pearson, Soph. Fragments I. 224, the subject of which is the same as that of the Homeric hymn to Hermes, the search for the stolen cattle of Apollo. With regard to the humour revealed in the fragments Hunt remarks, p. 33, 'There was a strong element of comedy in the thievish and lying propensities of the infant god, which, according to the Homeric Hymn, provoked Zeus himself to great laughter; and we may surmise that it was in the later scenes, when the mischievous child was confronted with the indignant Apollo, that the humour of the piece was chiefly developed. So far as the papyrus extends there

is nothing so amusing as the scene in the Cyclops where Silenus acts as cupbearer to Polyphemus. The imitation by the Satyrs of dogs upon the scent no doubt lent itself to fun of a rather boisterous kind, though there is throughout much less coarseness than in the drama of Euripides — not that Sophocles' satyric plays were always above reproach in this respect.' Cp. Hor. A. P. 225 'ita risores, ita commendare dicaces conveniet satyros, ita vertere seria ludo'. 231 'effutire leves indigna tragoedia versus, ut festis matrona moveri iussa diebus, intererit satyris paulum pudibunda protervis'. On satyric drama at Rome see Nettleship, Lectures and Essays, i. 179.

410. **praeteriti**: disregarded; i. e. 'shameless', 'immodest'. Am. III. 1. 22 'dum tua praeterito facta pudore refers'. M. VIII. 278 'solas sine ture relictas praeteritae cessasse ferunt Latoidos aras'. Cp. Hor. A. P. 244 'silvis deducti caveant, me iudice, Fauni, ne velut innati triviis ac paene forenses aut nimium teneris iuvenentur versibus umquam, aut immunda crepent ignominiosaque dicta'.

411. **nec nocet auctori**: Iuv. 1. 163 'nulli gravis est percussus Achilles'.

mollem: i. q. pathicum, cinaedum. Iuv. 2. 163 'unus Armenius Zalaces cunctis narratur ephebis mollior ardenti sese indulsisse tribuno'. 9. 38 'quod tamen ulterius monstrum quam mollis avarus?' Mart. I. 96. 10 'rogabit unde suspicer virum mollem'. II. 84. 1 'mollis erat facilisque viris Poeantius heros'. The reference is to the Ἀχιλλέως ἐρασταί of Sophocles, in which Satyrs were the unsuccessful lovers of Achilles, and Hercules met Achilles in the cave of Chiron, and fell a victim to his beauty. Pearson, Soph. Fragments I. 103. T. G. F.[2] 165. Aeschylus in the Myrmidons had already represented Achilles as the lover of Patroclus, T. G. F.[2] 44, fr. 136 μηρῶν τε τῶν σῶν εὐσεβὴς ὁμιλία, cp. fr. 135, Lucian Am. 54. Mr. Pearson has suggested to me that **non nocet auctori qui fecit** may be a 'Present General' relative conditional clause, i.e. 'non nocet illi si quis fecit'. If so, it would not be necessary to find an exclusive reference. I do not think this likely, as Ovid throughout has particular works in view.

412. **infregisse . . . fortia facta**: imputed effeminacy to a brave warrior.

infregisse: enfeebled. Prop. I. 14. 17 'illa (Venus) potest magnas heroum infringere vires'. Stat. Ach. I. 888 'occulto virtus infracta calore est'. Verg. Aen. IX. 499 'torpent infractae ad proelia vires'. XII. 1 'Turnus ut infractos adverso Marte Latinos defecisse videt'. Curt. VI. 2. 21 'numquam infractos et abiectos recessisse'. Sen. Ep. 90. 19 'hinc molles corporis motus docentium mollesque cantus et infractos'.

modis: 331 n.

413. **Aristides**, a Greek writer of the second century B. C., wrote a work in at least six books, consisting of erotic facetious stories called Μιλησιακά, because the scene was laid at Miletus, Plut. Crass. 32. Lucian Am. 1. They appear to have been rather a collection of short stories, Rohde, Rh. Mus. XLVIII. 125 foll., than a continuous romance, as Bürger maintained, Herm. XXVII. 345 foll. They became so popular that they were translated by the Roman historian Sisenna, inf. 443. A copy of them was discovered in the baggage of a Roman officer who accompanied Crassus on his expedition against the Parthians, Plut. Crass. 32 (Surena) εἰσήνεγκεν ἀκόλαστα βιβλία τῶν Ἀριστείδου Μιλησιακῶν . . . εὑρέθη γὰρ ἐν τοῖς Ῥωσκίου σκευοφόροις καὶ παρέσχε τῷ Σουρήνᾳ καθυβρίσαι πολλὰ καὶ κατασκῶψαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους εἰ μηδὲ πολε-

μοῦντες ἀπέχεσθαι πραγμάτων καὶ γραμμάτων δύναιται τοιούτων. They gave their name to a special kind of story called Milesia ('historia' or 'fabula'), Apul. Met. I. 1; IV. 32. Tertull. de An. 23. Hist. Aug. Albin. 11. 8, 12. 12; of which examples are Babrius 116. Phaedrus 3. 10. Petronius 85–7, 111–12, 140. Apul. Met. IX. 5–7, 17–21, 26–8. Such stories were usually erotic, sometimes merely amusing: thus Apuleius called his Cupid and Psyche a Milesia, IV. 32. They were the forerunners of the mediaeval Gesta Romanorum, the Facetiae of Poggio, Boccaccio's Decameron, the Heptameron of Margaret of Navarre, the Ragionamenti of Aretino, the Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles, the Contes Drolatiques of Balzac. See Purser, Apuleius, Cupid and Psyche, p. 125 foll. Christ, Gr. Litt. (ed. 5) II. 1. 261.

iunxit . . . secum, 'associated with himself Milesian indecencies'. Cp. IV. 1. 26 'mecum iuncti criminis acta rea est'. F. III. 679 'mense meo coleris, iunxi mea tempora tecum'. The meaning may be that Aristides put his name to a collection of indecent stories (Purser, Apul., p. 126), but more probably is that Aristides wrote Milesian stories in which he himself posed as the hero, as in the parallel case of the romances of Lucius of Patrae, the Pseudo-Lucian, and Apuleius (Butler, C. R. XXIV. 192).

Other less satisfactory guesses are: (1) that the work of Aristides contained facetious stories current at Miletus, to which he added others of his own invention of which he was himself the hero (Loers, and so apparently Cocchia), or (2) that to the Milesian indecencies which he described Aristides added further indecencies of his own (Merkel), or that Aristides strung together (**iunxit secum**, i. q. inter se; see Archiv. f. L. L. VII. 381: so Sincer) a series of indecent stories, the enormity of which consisted in the number (Rohde, l. c., p. 129).

415. **corrumpi semina matrum**: abortion. Pliny, N. H. XXVIII. 81, attests that Lais and Elephantis wrote on this subject. Ovid, Am. II. 13 and 14, denounces it in the case of Corinna.

416. This line is probably modelled on an epigram quoted by Quintil. Inst. Or. VIII. 3. 29 'et verba antiqui multum furate Catonis, Crispe, Iugurthinae conditor historiae'. **Eubius** is mentioned here only: but his name has undoubtedly been rightly restored to the text conjecturally by Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Hermes XI. 300 in Arrian, diss. Epictet. IV. 9. 6 where Epictetus attacking a man of immoral life says *ἀντὶ Χρυσίππου καὶ Ζήνωνος Ἀριστείδην ἀναγιγνώσκεις καὶ Εὔβιον* (*Εὔηνον* MSS.). Bürger, Hermes XXVII. 345, holds that the **historia** of Eubius was a realistic romance, but the word may equally well denote a series of stories: thus the *ποικίλη ἱστορία* of Aelian in fourteen books is a collection of short narratives historical and antiquarian, and the *παντοδαπὴ ἱστορία* of Favorinus in eight books contained miscellaneous historical information. Pliny, Ep. III. 5. 6, calls the Naturalis Historia of his uncle 'naturae historiarum triginta septem'. The plural **semina matrum** seems to indicate that the work of Eubius was a series of stories relating to abortion. See Rohde, Rh. Mus. XLVIII. 132. Immisch, Philologus LXXI. (1912) 563 foll., quoting Soranus, p. 343. 2, thinks that the work of Eubius was a bogus medical poem.

417. **Sybaritica**: a salacious work, probably in verse, by Hemitheon of Sybaris, a town notorious for licentiousness, Iuv. 6. 296. Lucian Indoct. 23 *ὁ κίναιδος Ἡμιθέων ὁ Συβαρίτης, ὃς τοὺς θαυμαστοὺς ὑμῖν νόμους συνέγραψεν, ὡς χρὴ μαίνεσθαι* [*μιαίνεσθαι* Friedländer, *λεαίνεσθαι* Markland] *καὶ παρατίλλεσθαι καὶ πάσχειν καὶ ποιεῖν ἐκεῖνα.* Pseudologist. 3, *δόξαν οὐ μικρὰν ἔχεις ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἀριφράδην* [cp. Aristoph. Eq. 1281.

Vesp. 1280], *ὑπὲρ τὸν Συβαρίτην Ἡμιθέωνα* [*μίσθωνα* MSS. corr. Solanus]. Mart. XII. 95. 1 'Musaei pathicissimos libellos, qui certant Sybariticis libellis, et tinctas sale pruriente chartas'. The date of Hemitheon is unknown: he may well have been one of the later Greek writers, as Ovid's word **nuper** indicates. Merkel, doubting this, proposed the unconvincing conjecture **numerus** (for **nuper**) 'the crowd'.

fugit: was exiled. I. 5. 66 'a patria fugi victus et exul ego'.

418. Shamelessly obscene works were written by, or at any rate attributed to, certain women: (1) Astyanassa, Suidas s. v. *Ἑλένης τῆς Μενελάου θεράπαινα, ἥτις πρώτη τὰς ἐν τῇ συνουσίᾳ κατακλίσεις εὗρεν καὶ ἔγραψε περὶ σχημάτων συνουσιαστικῶν.* Photius, p. 142. (2) Elephantis, apparently the same as Elephantine mentioned by Suidas v. Astyanassa, probably a fictitious name for the author of a work *περὶ σχημάτων συνουσιαστικῶν.* Suet. Tib. 43 'cubicula plurifariam disposita tabellis ac sigillis lascivissimarum picturarum et figurarum adornavit librisque Elephantidis instruxit, ne cui in opera edenda exemplar imperatae schemae deesset'. Mart. XII. 43. 1 'facundos mihi de libidinosis legisti nimium, Sabelle, versus, quales nec Didymi sciunt puellae nec molles Elephantidos libelli. sunt illic Veneris novae figurae'. Priap. 4. 1 'obscenas rigido deo tabellas dicans ex Elephantidos libellis dat donum Lalage rogatque temptes, si pictas opus edat ad figuras'. Pliny, N. H. XXVIII. 81, mentions Elephantis and Lais as treating of abortion. So Galen XII. 416; but this was probably a medical work. (3) Philaenis, a Greek poetess, to whom was attributed an obscene poem *τὸ περὶ ἀφροδισίων ἀκόλαστον σύγγραμμα*, Athenaeus VIII. 13, p. 335 b: cp. V. 220 f, where she is mentioned with Nico, a Samian, and Callistrate, a Lesbian. Polyb. XII. 13. Priap. 63. 17 'tot figuras, quot Philaenis enarrat'. Justin Martyr, Apol. II. 15 mentions Philaenis along with Sotades.

Because Elephantis and Philaenis were especially notorious as female authors Heinsius in place of **qui** accepted **quae** from the Eton and a few other MSS. But it is unnecessary to restrict Ovid's reference to authors who were women, since works of this character were written by men also. Besides the class of Priapea, among the authors of which Strabo VIII. 6. 24 mentions Euphronius, called Euphorion by Hephaestion, p. 105, Meineke, Euphorion, p. 4, indecencies of this sort were written by (1) Botrys, *τὰ Βότρυος ὑπομνήματα.* Polyb. XII. 13. Müller, F. H. G. I. 227. (2) Paxamus, an historian, who also wrote *δωδεκάτεχνον, ἔστι δὲ περὶ αἰσχρῶν σχημάτων*, Suidas 815. Cp. Suidas s. v. *δωδεκαμήχανον, δωδεκαμήχανος πόρνη, ιβ' σχήμασι χρωμένη.* (3) Sotades, supr. 409–12 n., and other writers such as Timon of Phlius, Alexander Aetolus, Pyres or Pyrrhus, Theodorides, Alexas, Timocharides, Xenarchus; see Christ, Gr. Litt. (ed. 5) II. 1. 156.

All the authors mentioned, both male and female, may be grammatically comprised in the masculine relative **qui**.

The subject of this line is touched discreetly by Ovid himself, A. A. III. 769 foll. See Lafaye, Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide, p. 170.

419. **mixta** is the reading of the vulgate MSS. and the lost Marcianus, as Politian expressly notes in his collation of that MS. preserved in the Bodleian copy of the Parma edition of 1477 (Prolegg. to my critical edition, Oxford, 1889, p. xii). This may be assumed to have stood in the archetype of our MSS., which being written in a script hard to decipher was corrupted into the meaningless **saxa** of L and **texta** of GHPV. The latter is retained by Cocchia in the impossible sense of 'inserted amongst', which would require 'intexta' or 'intertexta'; and by Goldbacher, understanding **texta** 'composed

in writing', as Cic. Fam. IX. 21. 1 'epistulas cotidianis verbis texere solemus': Q. Frat. III. 5. 1 'texebatur opus'. He explains: 'The preceding works (ea) have been composed in the literary monuments (i. e. writings) of learned men'. This is just possible, but awkwardly expressed. Ehwald emends **saxa** into **salva**, which he explains to mean that their memory has been preserved through their works having been translated by literary men, comparing 443 'vertit Aristiden Sisenna', and for **salva** Cic. Cat. II. 28 'paucorumque poena vos omnes salvi esse possitis'. Symb. II. 10. My own conjecture **sancta** 'established' in repute, printed in my edition of 1889, was intended to give much the same meaning. But I now withdraw it. Tank, De Trist. Ov. recens., p. 47, emends **texta** into **tecta**, i. e. 'protected', by the authority of works of men of genius, comparing Verg. Aen. XI. 12, Stat. Silv. V. 1. 26. But the sense produced by these emendations is unsatisfactory, for both repeat the thought already stated in 411 'nec nocet auctori', whereas Ovid has now left that behind, and in this couplet proceeds to a fresh thought, that such books are commonly procurable.

Therefore with the early editors I retain **mixta**, as explained by Merula, 'numerantur inter doctorum hominum monumenta'. The meaning is 'They stand on the shelves beside the works of men of poetical genius, and may be read since they are accessible in public libraries'.

doctorum monumentis . . . virorum. On **doctorum** see 13 n. **monumenta** means the 'records, memorials' of themselves left behind by men of poetical genius. For this use of the word see P. III. 5. 35 'redde vicem, nec rara tui monumenta laboris (records of your labour) accipiant nostrae, grata futura, manus'. IV. 14. 25 'quilibet excutiat nostri monumenta laboris', phrases reminiscent of Verg. Aen. III. 102 'veterum monumenta virorum' (records remembered by men of old time). Tac. A. IV. 61 (of Haterius, an orator) 'monumenta ingeni eius haud perinde retinentur'. XV. 41. 2 'monumenta ingeniorum antiqua'. Agr. 2. 1 'monumenta clarissimorum ingeniorum'. Mart. X. 2. 11 'at chartis nec furta nocent et saecula prosunt, solaque non norunt haec monumenta mori'. Plin. Ep. II. 10. 4 'habe ante oculos mortalitatem, a qua adserere te hoc uno monumento potes'. Sen. Dial. XI. 18. 2 'fratris quoque tui produc memoriam aliquo scriptorum monumento tuorum'. Cp. Ovid's words about the Palatine library. T. III. 1. 63 'quaeque viri docto veteres cepere novique pectore, lecturis inspicienda patent'.

420. **muneribus . . . ducum.** Since the middle of the second century B. C. victorious generals rivalled one another in bringing to Rome books from Greek countries, acquired by plunder or purchase, and in forming libraries. Thus the library of the Macedonian king Perseus was brought to Rome after the defeat of Perseus by L. Aemilius Paulus, 168 B. C., Plut. Paul. 28; the library of the book-thief Apellicon by Sulla, 84 B. C., Strabo XIII. 1. 54, Lucian Indoct. 4, Plut. Sull. 26; the library which he collected by plunder when he defeated Mithradates, 71 B. C., by Lucullus; Cic. Fin. III. 7, Plut. Lucull. 42, Isidor. Etym. VI. 5. 1.

The (1) first public library at Rome was opened in 39 B. C. by Asinius Pollio in the Atrium Libertatis near the Forum, after his triumph over the Parthians, T. III. 1. 71. Plin. N. H. VII. 115. XXXV. 10. Isidor. VI. 5. 2. Suet. Aug. 29. In 28 B. C. (2) Augustus dedicated to Apollo a temple on the Palatine in commemoration of his victory at Actium, and flanked it with two large halls, connected by colonnades with the temple, which served as public libraries, one for

Greek, the other for Latin authors, T. III. 1. 60. Suet. Aug. 29. Hor. Ep. I. 3. 17. Dio Cass. LIII. 1. Fronto, p. 68 Naber. Augustus founded (3) another public library in the Porticus Octaviae, adjoining the temples of Iuppiter Stator and Iuno Regina. It was established out of the booty got from Dalmatia 33 B.C., and was named after his sister Octavia, T. III. 1. 69. Dio Cass. XLIX. 43. Suet. Gramm. 21. 4. The library mentioned by Plutarch, Marc. 30, as founded by Octavia, in memory of her son Marcellus, is no doubt identical with this. (4) A library called the Bibliotheca templi Augusti was founded by Livia and Tiberius, and enlarged by Caligula, Plin. N. H. XXXIV. 43. Suet. Tib. 74.

In P. I. 1. 5 'publica non audent intra monumenta venire . . . latere sub lare privato tutius esse putant', Ovid says that his book cannot be received into the public libraries, but must find a resting-place in the private library of Brutus.

publica facta: made accessible to the public. F. III. 247 'illic a nuribus Iunoni templa Latinis hac sunt, si memini, publica facta die'. So 'publicare' 'to open for public use', Suet. Iul. 44 'bibliothecas Graecas Latinasque publicare'. Plin. N. H. VII. 115 'bibliotheca ex manubiis publicata'.

421. **peregrinis . . . armis**: instances of foreign writers. He now passes from Greek to Roman authors.

ab: 28 n.

422. **iocosa**: cp. 354.

423. **ut . . . sic** denotes a contrast between the clauses. Frequent in Ovid, here with double **ut**, as P. II. 9. 55 'utque tibi est animus, cum res ita postulat, arma sumere et hostili tingere caede manum, atque ut es excusso iaculum torquere lacerto collaque velocis flectere doctus equi, tempora sic data sunt studiis ubi iusta paternis . . . lucida Pieria tendis in astra via'. Usual with **ut** once only, supr. 75, infr. 521. I. 9. 57 'utque tibi prosunt artes, facunde, severae, dissimiles illis sic nocuere mihi'. 62 'ut non laudandos sic tamen esse iocos. ergo ut defendi nullo mea posse colore, sic excusari crimina posse puto'. V. 8. 23; 11. 13. P. I. 6. 25; 7. 39, 61. III. 1. 63; 2. 19. M. III. 188. IV. 131. Common in Livy and prose writers. Kühner, II. 2. 451. 2.

suo . . . ore: i.e. in epic diction (**ore** 73 n.) appropriate to war. The possessive pronoun **suus** with Ovid often means 'fitting': H. 12. 133 'iusto desunt sua verba dolori'. 14. 67 'lacrimae sua verba (words appropriate to them) secuntur'. 20. 76 'liceat lacrimis addere verba sua'. F. II. 542 'adde preces positis et sua verba focis'. Rem. 134 'temporibus si non adgrediare suis'. 754 'numeris brachia mota suis'. Med. fac. 50 'perque suos annos hinc bene pendet amor' (the years appropriate to love). Am. II. 2. 46 'ante suos annos occidit; illa dea est'. 6. 8 'expleta est annis ista querela suis'. A. A. III. 18 'fertur et ante annos occubuisse suos'. Am. II. 5. 37 'quale rosae fulgent inter sua lilia mixtae' (their fitting lilies, white lilies appropriately blended with red roses). So of 'favourable' fitting winds. I. 10. 49 'vos facite ut ventos, loca cum diversa petamus, illa suos habeat, nec minus illa suos'. Rem. 264 'cum sua Neritias abstulit aura rates'. A. A. III. 584 'saepe perit ventis obruta cumba suis'. So 'favourable' gods. M. IV. 373 'vota suos habuere deos'. So 'appropriate' in the sense of 'natural'. H. 14. 90 'cornuaque in patriis non sua vidit aquis'. T. III. 4. 24 'nam pennas ambo non habuere suas' (of Daedalus and Icarus). M. III. 202 'lacrimaeque per ora non sua fluxerunt' (of Actaeon transformed into a stag). Stat.

Theb. VIII. 300 'innumerosque deae [earth], sua munera, flores et cumulos frugum . . . addit'.

The reference here is to the Annales (259 n.), the masterpiece of **Ennius** (239–169 B.C.), the father of Roman poetry, as he was recognized to be by Lucretius, I. 117 'Ennius ut noster cecinit, qui primus amoeno detulit ex Helicone perenni fronde coronam'. Propert. III. 3. 5 'parvaque tam magnis admoram fontibus ora, unde pater sitiens Ennius ante bibit'. Cicero, de Or. I. 198, Prov. Cons. 20, calls him 'summus poeta', and he was termed by his admirers, according to Horace, Ep. II. 1. 50, 'et sapiens et fortis et alter Homerus'. Ovid, while noting his lack of artistic finish here and in Am. I. 15. 19 'Ennius arte carens animosique Accius oris, casurum nullo tempore nomen habent', recognizes the grandeur of his genius which entitled him to his place in the tomb of the Scipios. A. A. III. 409 'Ennius emeruit Calabris in montibus ortus contiguus poni, Scipio magne, tibi', referring to the tradition that a statue of Ennius was placed in the tomb of the Scipios, Cic. Arch. 22. Liv. XXXVIII. 56. 4. Val. Max. VIII. 14. 1. Plin. N. H. VII. 114, or, as is stated by Jerome, that he was actually buried there, Euseb. Chron., p. 222. 16, ed. Fotheringham. Quintilian's estimate of his rugged genius agrees with that of Ovid, Inst. Or. X. 1. 88 'Ennium sicut sacros vetustate lucos adoremus, in quibus grandia et antiqua robora iam non tantam habent speciem quantam religionem' So Statius, Silv. II. 7. 75 'cedet musa rudis ferocis Enni'. Valerius Maximus recognizes his grandeur, VIII. 14. 1 'vir Homerico quam rudi atque inpolito praeconio dignior'. See Aul. Gell. XII. 2.

The numerous reminiscences of Ennius in Ovid prove that Ovid knew well and studied his works. For though in the case of many of these reminiscences the words of the old poet had been utilized already by Lucretius and Virgil (which might suggest that Ovid's knowledge of Ennius was not first-hand) in the case of many others they had not been thus appropriated, which shows that Ovid's knowledge of Ennius was direct, and that he was highly esteemed by the brilliant and finished Augustan poet. See Zingerle's full discussion of the subject, Ovidius und sein Verhältniss z. d. Vorgängern, II. 1–11. The indebtedness of Ovid, as of Livy, to Ennius is treated by Ehwald, Symb. II. 12.

gravis: majestic, impressive (*μεγαλοπρεπής*), an epithet applied to Accius by Cicero, Planc. 59 'gravis et ingeniosus poeta', and by Quintilian to Aeschylus, Inst. Or. X. 1. 66 'sublimis et gravis et grandiloquus'.

424. **ingenio**: native talent contrasted with **arte**, poetic skill. Ovid conversely says of the great Alexandrine poet Callimachus, Am. I. 15. 14 'quamvis ingenio non valet, arte valet'.

425. **rapidi**: scorching, consuming, which quickly burns. A constant epithet of fire, applied to 'ignis', IV. 8. 46. P. III. 3. 60. M. VII. 326. Verg. G. IV. 263; to 'flamma', Ibis 473. P. IV. 8. 29. M. II. 123. Tibull. I. 9. 49; to 'sol', Am. III. 6. 106. M. VIII. 225. Verg. G. I. 92. Hor. C. II. 9. 12 (where it is fancifully misinterpreted by commentators, cp. Sat. I. 6. 125 'sol acrior'). Catull. 66. 3 'flammeus rapidi solis nitor'; to 'aestus', Verg. Ec. 2. 10; to the volcano Aetna, T. V. 2. 75.

In his poetical exposition of the philosophical system of Epicurus, Lucretius says (1) that the knowledge of fire came first to mankind through lightning or else from the friction of trees, V. 1091–1101. Further (2), in discussing the cause of thunder and lightning, he

says that lightning is produced by the collision of clouds which thus strike out many atoms of fire; that clouds becoming heated by the motion of wind scatter fire; the winds whirling among the clouds when piled high collect flames within them until they burst out into flashes; clouds contain many atoms of fire within themselves, others they draw from the sun, VI. 160–210, 269–73. Ovid here alludes both to (1) the origin of fire, and (2) the cause of lightning. So Washietl, De similitudinibus imaginibusque Ovidianis, p. 113.

426. **triplex . . . opus**: the universe, consisting of three great divisions, sea, land, and sky. Cp. F. V. 11 'post chaos, ut primum data sunt tria corpora mundo, inque novas species omne recessit opus, pondere terra suo subsedit et aequora traxit: at caelum levitas in loca summa tulit'. Lucretius forecasts the final destruction of the universe. V. 92 'principio maria ac terras caelumque tuere; quorum naturam triplicem, tria corpora, Memmi, tris species tam dissimilis, tria talia texta, una dies dabit exitio, multosque per annos sustentata ruet moles et machina mundi', to which passage Ovid alludes Am. I. 15. 23 'carmina sublimis tunc sunt peritura Lucreti, exitio terras cum dabit una dies'; and in M. XII. 39 'terrasque fretumque caelestesque plagas, triplicis confinia mundi'. F. I. 105 'et quae tria corpora restant, ignis aquae tellus'. Ovid himself speaks of the final destruction of the universe by fire, M. I. 256 'esse quoque in fatis reminiscitur, adfore tempus, quo mare, quo tellus correptaque regia caeli ardeat et mundi moles obsessa laboret', but there he has in view not Lucretius, but the doctrine of the Stoics (Zeller, Stoics, E. Tr., p. 164) and of Heraclitus before them (Zeller, Pre-Socratic Philosophy, E. Tr. II. 64). Cic. N. D. II. 118 'ex quo eventurum nostri putant id . . . ut ad extremum omnis mundus ignesceret'. Sen. Dial. VI. 26. 6 'omnia sternet abducetque vetustas . . . et ignibus vastis torrebit incendetque mortalia. et cum tempus advenerit, quo se mundus renovaturus exstinguat . . . omni flagrante materia uno igne quidquid nunc ex disposito lucet, ardebit'. Lucan VII. 814.

In the pseudo-Ovidian Consolatio ad Liviam, Baehrens, P. L. M. I. 104, occurs this couplet, line 361 'esse necem intentam caelo terraeque fretoque, casurumque ("casurum" MSS. corr. Heinsius, "casurum unde" Baehrens) triplex vaticinantur opus'. [The subject of 'vaticinantur' is general—philosophers or prophets.] As the 'Consolatio' is preserved in a few late MSS. only, and in the editio princeps Romana published in 1471, its authenticity was questioned by Haupt, Epicedion Drusi Lips. 1840 = Opusc. I. 315, who supposed the author to be an Italian humanist of the fifteenth century. This view, however, has not been accepted, for the poem is obviously classical and has some literary merit. It is generally thought that the author was a Roman knight (line 202 'funeris exsequiis adsumus omnis eques'), who addressed this 'consolatio' to the empress Livia at the time of the funeral of Drusus in 9 B.C. Baehrens, P. L. M. I. 101. Plessis, Poésie latine, p. 470. Schanz, Röm. Litt. ed. 3, II. 1. 342. As Ovid was not banished till A. D. 8, it may be concluded that the couplet in the 'consolatio' is not an imitation of this couplet in the Tristia, but that Ovid was himself the imitator, for, as Baehrens remarks (loc. cit.), Ovid was far from disdaining to copy previous Roman poets.

The numerous imitations and reminiscences of Lucretius in the works of Ovid prove that he was not only an admirer, but a careful student of Lucretius. Thus M. XV. 150 'palantesque homines passim et rationis egentes despectare procul . . . o genus attonitum gelidae

formidine mortis' is based on Lucr. II. 9 'despicere unde queas alios passimque videre errare atque viam palantis quaerere vitae . . . o miseras hominum mentes, o pectora caeca', and V. 1194 'o genus infelix humanum': thus A. A. I. 473 'ferreus adsiduo consumitur anulus usu, interit adsidua vomer aduncus humo. quid magis est saxo durum, quid mollius unda? dura tamen molli saxa cavantur aqua'; P. IV. 10. 5 'gutta cavat lapidem, consumitur anulus usu, atteritur pressa vomer aduncus humo' are based on Lucr. I. 311 'quin etiam multis solis redeuntibus annis anulus in digito subter tenuatur habendo, stilicidi casus lapidem cavat, uncus aratri ferreus occulte decrescit vomer in arvis, strataque iam volgi pedibus detrita viarum saxea conspicimus': thus M. XIV. 825 'ceu lata plumbea funda missa solet medio glans intabescere caelo' is based on Lucr. VI. 178 'plumbea vero glans etiam longo cursu volvenda liquescit': thus M. II. 727 'non secus exarsit, quam cum Balearica plumbum funda iacit: volat illud et . . . sub nubibus invenit ignes' is based on Lucr. VI. 306 'non alia longe ratione ac plumbea saepe fervida fit glans in cursu, cum . . . ignem concepit in auris'. Ovid's imitations of Lucretius are collected by Zingerle, Ovidius u. s. Verhältniss, II. 12–47, and elaborately discussed by Washietl, De similitudinibus imaginibusque Ovidianis, p. 43 foll.

casurum: will perish. Cic. N. D. I. 67 'in mundis innumerabilibus omnibus minimis temporum punctis aliis nascentibus, aliis cadentibus'.

427. **lascivo . . . Catullo**: the epithet is from Propertius II. 34. 87 'haec quoque lascivi cantarunt scripta Catulli, Lesbia quis ipsa notior est Helena'. Cp. Mart. VIII. 73. 5 'Cynthia te vatem fecit, lascive Properti'.

cantata: celebrated. IV. 10. 59 'moverat ingenium totam cantata per urbem nomine non vero dicta Corinna mihi'. Am. II. 1. 29 'quid mihi profuerit velox cantatus Achilles?' A. A. II. 740 'cantetur toto nomen in orbe meum'.

428. That **Lesbia**, the name of the mistress whom he passionately loved and who inspired his finest verse, was a pseudonym is here stated by Ovid: that her real name was Clodia we are informed by Apuleius, Apol. 10 'eadem igitur opera accusent C. Catullum, quod Lesbiam pro Clodia nominarit, et Ticidam similiter, quod quae Metella erat Perillam scripserit, et Propertium, qui Cynthiam dicat, Hostiam dissimulet, et Tibullum, quod ei sit Plania in animo, Delia in versu'. On the basis of this statement it is now generally agreed that Lesbia was Clodia the sister of Cicero's enemy, P. Clodius Pulcher, and wife of Q. Metellus Celer, consul in 60 B. C., whose death she was charged by gossip with having brought about by poison. The pseudonym Lesbia, suggested by the poet's admiration for Sappho, was chosen as suitable to an accomplished lady with a taste for poetry, who probably, like many other cultivated women of the day, herself wrote verse, as is implied by Cic. Cael. 64 'haec tota fabella veteris et plurimarum fabularum poetriae quam est sine argumento!' The assumed names under which their mistresses were celebrated by Roman poets, Leucadia by Varro Atacinus, Lycoris by Gallus, Delia by Tibullus, Cynthia by Propertius, all derived from epithets of Apollo the lord of song, seem to imply that these women were lovers of poetry. Apollin. Sidon. Ep. II. 10. 6 'reminiscere, quod saepe versum Corinna cum suo Nasone complevit, Lesbia cum Catullo, Caesennia cum Gaetulico, Argentaria cum Lucano, Cynthia cum Propertio, Delia cum Tibullo'. The character of the accomplished and profligate Clodia, sketched with merciless eloquence by Cicero in the speech Pro Caelio, harmonizes substantially

with what Catullus tells us about Lesbia. In Cicero Caelius is a lover of Clodia: from Catullus c. 77 it must be supposed that Caelius was a lover of Lesbia. If Lesbia was in reality Clodia, then she was the sister of P. Clodius Pulcher, who by common report was infamous on account of his incestuous connexion with his sister. Cic. Sest. 39 'sororis adulter'. Cael. 32 and 78. Att. II. 1. 5. Vellei. II. 45 'infamis sororis stupro': thus the significance is evident of Catull. 79 'Lesbius est pulcher: quid ni? quem Lesbia malit quam te cum tota gente, Catulle, tua. sed tamen hic pulcher vendat cum gente Catullum, si tria notorum savia reppererit'. See further Schwabe, Quaest. Catull., p. 53 foll., Ellis, Catullus Commentary, p. lxiii, Munro, Criticisms and Elucidations of Catullus, p. 194, Baehrens, Catull. Comm. II. 31 foll., Schmidt, Catullus, p. xvi, Friedrich, Catullus, p. 64 foll.

430. **in quibus**: in the case of which: 383 n.

adulterium: not adultery in the strict sense, but in the extended meaning of infidelity to any object of affection: M. II. 544 'sed ales sensit adulterium' (of Apollo and Coronis). IV. 235 stimulataque paelicis ira vulgat adulterium' (of the Sun and Leucothoe). So **adulter** is used of a paramour, where there is no question of violation of the marriage tie: Hor. Carm. I. 33. 9 'quam turpi Pholoe peccet adultero'. 36. 18 'nec Damalis novo divelletur adultero'. Ovid refers to Catullus' amours with Ipsithilla, c. 32, Ameana, c. 41, 43, Aufilena, c. 100, 110, 111, and to his passion for the boy Iuventius, c. 24, 48, 81, 99, which with characteristic exaggeration he calls **multos amores**, and regards as infidelities to the lady to whom the devotion of his heart was vowed. So with Schwabe, Quaest. Catull., p. 136 foll.; Baehrens, Catullus, Comm., p. 25, I understand this passage. It is unnecessary, as Ellis does on Catull., c. 111, to restrict the reference to the intrigue with Aufilena because it can be inferred from that poem that she was a married woman. The words **multos amores** prove that the reference cannot be merely to Catullus' adultery only with Lesbia, a married woman, Catull. 68. 143 foll., as Némethy supposes.

Ovid fully recognized the greatness of Catullus' genius. Am. III. 9. 61 'obvius huic venias hedera iuvenalia cinctus tempora cum Calvo, docte Catulle, tuo'. 15. 7 'Mantua Vergilio gaudet, Verona Catullo', and shows his admiration by numerous reminiscences collected by Zingerle, Ovidius u. s. Verhältniss, I. 35 foll.

est is omitted in a few unimportant MSS., and by Hilberg, Die Gesetze d. Wortst., p. 255, without sufficient reason. See 12 n. and Ehwald, Jahresbericht, CIX (1902), p. 229.

431. **par** equal in intensity, **similis** like in subject-matter.

Calvi: C. Licinius Calvus (82–47 B. C.), renowned as an orator of the severe Attic style who long disputed with Cicero the supremacy at the bar, Sen. Contr. VII. 4. 6, Quintil. Inst. Or. X. 1. 115, an intimate friend of Catullus, with whom he shared his political hostility to Julius Caesar, Suet. Iul. 73, thus the two poets are named together, Am. III. 9. 62, and by Horace, Sat. I. 10. 19. Prop. II. 25. 4; 34. 87. Plin. Ep. I. 16. 5; IV. 27. 4. Gell. N. A. XIX. 9. 7, personally small of stature, **exigui**, Catull. 53. 5 'di magni, salaputium disertum', Sen. Contr. VII. 4. 7 'erat enim parvulus statura, propter quod etiam Catullus in hendecasyllabis vocat illum "salaputium disertum"', was a poet of repute. His most celebrated poems were his epyllion Io, and his elegy (epicedion) on the death of his wife Quintilia. Prop. II. 34. 89 'haec etiam docti confessa est pagina Calvi, cum caneret miserae funerae Quintiliae'. Besides these he wrote epigrams and fugitive pieces in hendeca-

syllables and other metres. Catullus and Calvus improvised verses together. Catull. 50. 5. The fragments of his poems are collected in L. Müller's Catullus, p. 83. Baehrens, F. P. L., p. 320. See Schanz, röm. Litt. I. 2. 63. Plessis, Poésie latine, 174 ff.

432. **detexit**: A. A. II. 428 'monitu detege furta meo'.

furta: 249 n.

modis: 331 n.

433. **Ticidas**, as Priscian, G. L. K. II. 189, or **Ticida** as Suetonius, Gramm. 11, gives the name, was a poet, who was classed with Bibaculus and Valerius Cato by Messala Corvinus, Suet. Gramm. 4 'eosdem litteratores vocitatos Messala Corvinus in quadam epistula ostendit, non esse sibi, dicens, rem cum Furio Bibaculo, ne cum Ticida quidem, aut litteratore Catone', which is supported by the pentameter of Ticidas in praise of Cato's Lydia quoted by Suet. Gramm. 11 'Lydia doctorum maxima cura liber'. Besides an epithalamium, from which Priscian, l. c. quotes 'felix lectule talibus sole amoribus' in the manner of Catullus (see Müller's Catullus, p. 93. Baehrens, F. P. L., p. 325) and epigrams and the love poems here vouched for by Ovid, he is asserted by Apuleius to have written erotic poems celebrating his mistress Metella under the fictitious name of Perilla. Apul. 10 'eadem igitur opera accusent C. Catullum, quod Lesbiam pro Clodia nominarit, et Ticidam similiter, quod quae Metella erat Perillam scripserit'.

There is no evidence that the name Ticidas was either a pseudonym or a Greek freedman's name, as Plessis suggests, Poésie lat., p. 186. Schulze, Gesch. lat. Eigennamen, p. 373, treats it as a Latin name and classes it with Ticiasenus, Tigidius, and Ticid. C. I. L. X. 4636, which last being incomplete at the end of the line in an inscription may stand for Ticida or Ticidas, though Schulze, without assigning any reason, doubtfully completes it Ticid(ius ?).

C. Memmius, praetor 58 B. C., went as governor to Bithynia in 57 B. C., at which time Catullus accompanied him as a member of his staff. Catull. 10 and 28. 6–9. Ellis, Comm. Catull., p. lv. He was of noble family, an unscrupulous politician, but a man of literary taste and culture. Cic. Brut. 247 'C. Memmius L. f., perfectus litteris, sed Graecis, fastidiosus sane Latinarum, argutus orator verbisque dulcis, sed fugiens non modo dicendi, verum etiam cogitandi laborem, tantum sibi de facultate detraxit, quantum imminuit industriae'. Lucretius addressed to him the De Rerum Natura. From this passage of Ovid it appears that he wrote erotic poems, which is corroborated by Pliny, Ep. V. 3. 5, who names him in a catalogue of men who though in their lives they were 'doctissimos gravissimos sanctissimos homines' yet wrote 'versiculos severos parum'. Gellius, N. A. XIX. 9. 7, calls his poems 'dura'. Baehrens, F. P. L., p. 326, gives two fragments of his verses. All that is known of his life is collected by Purser, Correspondence of Cicero, III. lxxvii (ed. 2).

434. **rebus . . . pudor**: things are called by their names, are spoken of in plain language, and shame attaches to those names, i. e. the names, expressions used are shameful. **rebus** means the 'subjects' treated. P. I. 1. 17 'rebus idem, titulo differt'.

nomen is illustrated by M. V. 524 'sed si modo nomina rebus addere vera placet'. H. 16. 9 'si tamen expectas, vocem quoque rebus ut addam'. Mart. XI. 43. 11 'parce tuis igitur dare mascula nomina rebus'. Cic. N. D. I. 44 'sunt rebus novis nova ponenda nomina'. Plin. Ep. IV. 14. 4 'summos illos viros, qui talia scripserunt, non modo lascivia rerum, sed ne verbis quidem nudis abstinuisse'.

pudor: shame is felt at those names. III. 6. 31 'quaecumque adeo possunt afferre pudorem'. V. 8. 23 'utque pudore non caret, invidia sic mea culpa caret'. F. VI. 115 'haec loca lucis habent nimis et cum luce pudoris'. It is possible that **pudor**, like αἶσχος in Greek, means an object of shame, infamy as M. VIII. 157 'destinat hunc Minos thalamo removere pudorem'. Ellis (Hermath. VII. 194) suggested that the meaning might be '*things* (i.e. res venereae) were named without disguise, and the only care taken not to offend modesty was in concealing the *names* of the persons introduced', but, as he admitted, this is strained, since it involves understanding **nomen** and **nominibus** in different senses.

Heinsius accepted the conjecture of Rottendorphius **rebus abest omnis nominibusque pudor**, rejected by Bentley on Hor. Carm. II. 12. 13, who himself preferred **rebus abest nomen**, retaining **abest** probably because he thought it to be the reading of MSS., which it is not; this he explained to mean that Ticidas and poets of his school did not give their real names to the subjects (**rebus**) of their poems, since Ticidas called Metella Perilla and so forth, and that no shame was shown in the treatment of those names, since these poems dealt with adulteries and intrigues. Ellis rather differently explained this reading 'the things were unmentionable, and if mentioned, shocking to modest feeling'.

Apuleius, Apol. 10 (quoted on 433), is the sole authority for the statement that Ticidas celebrated Metella under the name of Perilla; Ovid does not here suggest that he thus concealed the identity of his mistress, though infra, 437–8, he does refer to other poets who sung of Metella under the counterfeit name of Perilla. It has been attempted to remove this discrepancy and to harmonize the statements of Ovid and Apuleius by the remedy of transposition in two ways.

(1) Following the suggestion of Heinsius on 438 'forte hoc distichon superiori praeponendum', Jahn, Weichert, Poet. Lat., p. 361, Paldamus, röm. Erotik, p. 35, and Baehrens, Comm. Catull., p. 10, placed 437–8 before 435: thus

> quid referam Ticidae, quid Memmi carmen? apud quos
> rebus adest nomen nominibusque pudor,
> et quorum libris modo dissimulata Perillae
> nomine, nunc legitur dicta, Metelle, tuo.
> Cinna quoque his comes est, Cinnaque procacior Anser,
> et leve Cornufici parque Catonis opus.

(2) Riese, followed by Güthling and myself in my former editions, placed 433–4 after 436; thus

> Cinna quoque his comes est, Cinnaque procacior Anser,
> et leve Cornufici parque Catonis opus.
> quid referam Ticidae, quid Memmi carmen, apud quos
> rebus adest nomen nominibusque pudor,
> et quorum libris modo dissimulata Perillae
> nomine, nunc legitur dicta, Metelle, tuo?

Whichever of these transpositions is adopted it is necessary to translate the words **quid referam . . . tuo?** 'Why should I mention the poetry of Ticidas and Memmius, in whose pages things are called by their names and those names are shameful, and in whose books Metella, a little while ago concealed under the name of Perilla, is now called by your

name, Metellus, i. e. by her real name Metella?' The meaning resulting is that not only Ticidas but Memmius also celebrated Metella under the pseudonym of Perilla (so Plessis, Poésie lat., p. 186); and further that having not long before (**modo**) celebrated her under the pseudonym, at the time when Ovid wrote (**nunc**) they had abandoned disguise and written of her under her real name.

But there are great objections to this method of treating the passage.

(1) There is no corroborative evidence that Memmius wrote of Metella, or wrote of her under the name of Perilla.

(2) Of the examples produced in the rest of the context 431–46 none is so extended, as, like this, to be continued beyond a single couplet.

(3) The second relative clause **et quorum libris** following the first **apud quos** is grammatically incorrect; for though Latin writers do not object to the repetition of a relative, e. g. Cic. Rosc. Am. 2 'si qui istorum dixisset, quos videtis adesse, in quibus summa auctoritas est', the introduction of the connecting relative by **et** is not permissible. See Seyffert-Müller, Cic. Lael. ed. 2, p. 198 on § 27 'quod in homine'.

(4) If Ticidas and Memmius celebrated Metella under the counterfeit name Perilla, it is improbable either that (as Bentley suggested on Hor. Carm. II. 12. 13) the real in place of the fictitious name was inserted in their works by copyists, or that those poets themselves subsequently revealed the identity of the pseudonym they had employed. To have done so would have been at variance with the uniform practice of Roman poets, as the Lesbia, Delia, Cynthia of Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius show.

Also, **et quorum libris** cannot be explained as standing for **et (quid referam illos) quorum libris?** 'Also, why should I mention those poets who sung Perilla-Metella?' viz. a group of poets distinct from Ticidas and Memmius, since though in Am. III. 12. 35 'Protea quid referam Thebanaque semina, dentes'. F. V. 227 'quid Crocon aut Attin referam Cinyraque creatum', after **quid referam** a fresh example is appended by 'que' in the same line, the introduction of a fresh example by **et** at the beginning of a fresh couplet is feeble. Ovid would probably have written **Quid? quorum libris.**

Ehwald, Philologus LIV (1895), N. F. viii, p. 459 foll., maintains that the couplet 437–8 is spurious, and was invented to connect the statement of Apuleius with Ticidas, and to supply a supposed gap in the literary history; having first been inserted in the margin against 433, he thinks that the couplet was afterwards introduced into the text. On this sort of interpolation see my critical edition of Tristia proll., p. lxviiii. In that case the couplet will be a literary adscript of the same sort as that about Alcaeus, supr. 364, of which the source is Cic. Tusc. IV. 71, as Apuleius is here; of the same sort as the couplet found in some MSS. after III. 7. 18:

> tunc quoque, si forsan nostrum delevit amorem
> tempus, eram nimio iunctus amore tibi,

the source of which is traced by Merkel to Apoll. Sidon. Ep. II. 10. 6 'reminiscere quod saepe versum Corinna cum suo Nasone complevit'; and of the same sort as the alternative line found in many MSS. in V. 1. 18 'et plures quorum nomina magna vigent', devised apparently to explain 'numero in isto' in line 19. The argument is ingenious, but the couplet 437–8 is not of the same feeble nature as the three parallels produced; it must be the genuine work of Ovid.

Though the credibility of Apuleius is not great, there is no reason

to reject the information he gives about Ticidas and Perilla-Metella. This, though doubtless known to Ovid, was not material to his characterization of Ticidas and Memmius as licentious 'cantores Euphorionis'. The couplet 437–8 contains a fresh piece of information, for which Ovid is our only source, that there was a circle of poets, by whom Metella was celebrated first under the pseudonym of Perilla, and later under her real name, when perhaps disguise was no longer necessary on account of the death of her lawful husband. Thus understood the couplet is grammatically unobjectionable, the construction being **et** (his comites sunt illi poetae) **quorum libris**, etc. Or it is possible that **modo dissimulata Perillae nomine** refers only to Ticidas, the poet of Perilla, with whom are contrasted the poets of Metella: 'and those poets in whose books Metella, lately celebrated under the fictitious name of Perilla (by Ticidas), is now celebrated by her real name'.

Goldbacher suggests that the couplet 437–8 completes the catalogue just given of love poets by adding their special peculiarity that they spoke of their ladies either by a fictitious name or by their own name, the fictitious name being intended for the general public, the real for members of their own intimate circle. He paraphrases 'et quorum libris amicae modo dissimulatae leguntur modo dictae nominibus suis', only that the thought at the end is expressed not generally but by poetical individualization through an individual case. Then **modo-nunc**, i. q. 'modo'-'modo' means 'now' 'now', as I. 2. 27, M. VIII. 290, F. IV. 643.

435. C. Helvius **Cinna**, a friend of Catullus, was the author of (1) a short (Catull. 95. 9) but elaborate and obscure epic in the Alexandrine style, entitled Zmyrna, on the incestuous passion of Myrrha or Zmyrna for her father Cinyras, on the composition of which work he spent nine years, Quintil. Inst. Or. X. 4. 4. Catull. 95. 1, anticipating the rule of Horace, A. P. 388 'nonum prematur in annum'.

(2) A Propempticon, addressed to Asinius Pollio, when starting on a journey to Greece. Charis. G. L. K. I. 124.

(3) Erotic poems, to which Ovid here alludes, lyrical poems, and epigrams, Gell. IX. 12. 12. XIX. 9. 7, where his poems are described as 'inlepida'; 13. 5, where he is called 'non ignobilis neque indoctus poeta'.

The fragments of Cinna are collected in L. Müller's Catullus, p. 87. Baehrens, F. P. L., p. 323.

Virgil ranked him high among poets (in Martial's time he had still admirers, X. 21. 4), and speaks of him as one whom he would wish to emulate Ec. 9. 35 'nam neque adhuc Vario videor nec dicere Cinna digna, sed argutos inter strepere anser olores', in which passage, according to Servius, there is a punning contemptuous allusion to the contemporary poet **Anser**, an adherent of Antony, and on that account disliked by Virgil, T. Frank, Vergil, a biography, p. 80. He is alluded to by Cicero, Phil. XIII. 11 'eique qui nunc Mutinam oppugnant . . . de Falerno Anseres depellantur'. It is possible that there is an allusion to Anser in the obscure and corrupt passage of Propertius II. 34. 83 'nec minor hic ("his" MSS. corr. Housman) animis, ut sit ("aut sim" MSS. corr. Housman) minor ore, canorus, anseris indocto carmine cessit olor'. That he wrote erotic verse rests on the authority of Ovid.

436. **Cornufici**: the correct spelling restored by Ehwald, Philol. LXV, 1895, p. 460, for which the MSS. have **Cornifici**. This plebeian gentile name Cornuficius denotes a trade, 'maker of trumpets'. Schulze, Gesch. lat. Eigennamen, p. 417. The spelling is attested

by coins, an aureus and three denarii have Q. CORNVFICI AVGVR, and inscriptions as C. I. L. I. 1087, Cornuficia. Wölfflin, Archiv. 4. 620. Cornuficius is the poet to whom Catullus addressed his pathetic appeal for poetical consolation, 38. 7 'paulum quid lubet allocutionis maestius lacrimis Simonideis' (Bergk, Kl. ph. Schrift. I. 545), the poet whose death Jerome records, Chronicles a. Abr. 1976 = 41 B. C. 'Cornificius poeta a militibus desertus interiit, quos saepe fugientes galeatos lepores appellarat. huius soror Cornificia cuius insignia extant epigrammata'. He is generally identified with Q. Cornuficius, the correspondent of Cicero, Fam. XII. 17–30, quaestor under Caesar in 48 B. C., an adherent of the Senate in the Civil Wars, who was sent as governor to Africa in 44 B. C., where in 41 B. C. he fell fighting against Sextius. The Schol. Veron. on Verg. Ec. 7. 22 and Schol. Bern. Ec. 7 argum. say that Cornuficius was the poet whose name is concealed under that of Codrus in Virgil's Eclogues; but about this nothing can with certainty be affirmed. Two fragments of his verses have been preserved, printed in L. Müller's Catullus, p. 92, and Baehrens, F. P. L. 325, the one from an epyllion on Glaucus, written in hexameters, the other in hendecasyllabic metre, indicating that he wrote amatory lyrics, which Ovid here may intend by the epithet **leve**, which adjective is applied to erotic poetry, as by Martial to Marsus IV. 29. 7 'saepius in libro numeratur Persius uno, quam levis in tota Marsus Amazonide'; as to whose erotic poems, cp. Mart. I. praef. 'lascivam verborum veritatem excusarem ... sic scribit Catullus, sic Marsus'. He may also have written love poems in elegiacs, since Ovid applies this adjective to elegiac poetry, Am. II. 1. 21 'blanditias elegosque leves, mea tela, resumpsi'. P. IV. 5. 1 'leves elegi'. Supr. 339 'leve opus'. See for the life of Cornuficius, Tyrrell and Purser, Correspondence of Cicero, IV, Introd. II. 16.

Catonis. P. Valerius Cato, a native of Cisalpine Gaul, was a grammaticus, who lectured upon poets, trained poets, and was himself a poet: Suet. Gramm. 11 'docuit multos et nobiles, visusque est peridoneus praeceptor maxime ad poeticam tendentibus, ut quidem apparere ex his versiculis potest [Bibaculus, fr. 1; Baehrens, F. P. R., p. 317].

Cato grammaticus, Latina Siren,
qui solus legit ac facit poetas.

scripsit praeter grammaticos libellos etiam poemata, ex quibus praecipue probantur Lydia et Diana'. Schwabe, Quaest. Catull. 305–12, arguing from this passage of Ovid, where Cato is named along with Cinna in connexion with Catullus, concludes that he was about eleven years older than Catullus, and that, since Ovid says that he wrote erotic verse, it is reasonable to suppose that Cato, to whom the jocose poem of Catullus, c. 56, is addressed, is the poet Valerius Cato. Cato was the poet teacher, around whom were grouped the poets whom he inspired, here mentioned by Ovid, the new school, the 'cantores Euphorionis' (Cic. Tusc. III. 45), who followed Alexandrine models of versification. See Baehrens, Catull. Comm., p. 9. Of Cato's two poems mentioned by Suetonius, the Diana appears to have been an epyllion like Cinna's Zmyrna, the Lydia, an erotic poem, here alluded to by Ovid. Scaliger long ago conjectured that the Dirae and Lydia, which form part of the Appendix Vergiliana, were the work of Cato; since which the authorship of these two poems has been a matter of controversy. See Schanz, Gesch. röm. Litt. I. 2 (ed. 3), p. 60; Vollmer, Appendix Vergiliana, p. 33. It is now generally agreed that the Dirae

is not by Cato. The most attractive hypothesis is that of T. Frank (Vergil, p. 129), that it is a youthful work of Virgil, his first bitter outburst on hearing of Caesar's evictions of the Italian peasants, written about the same time as Eclogue I, which deals more delicately with the same subject. The Lydia, on the other hand, which is attached to the Dirae in the MSS., is not Virgil's, but, as has been conclusively argued by Lindsay, is beyond reasonable doubt the famous Lydia of Valerius Cato, 'for no rival or imitator would steal the name Lydia for the heroine'. Lindsay, C. R. XXXII. 62.

437. **et** (his comites sunt illi poetae) **quorum libris,** etc.: 234 n. (end).

libris: local abl. 79 n.

Perillae: apparently an early Italian correction of **per illos,** the reading of the MSS. From **per illos** in my edition of 1889 I elicited **Perilla est,** which I understood to mean as Ellis translated it, Hermath. VII. 194 'those in whose verse but recently Perilla was counterfeited (i. e. was a counterfeit name)'. I now feel this, though accepted by Ehwald-Levy, to be impossible, for 'dissimulare' means 'to pretend that something is not'; **dissimulata Perilla est** would mean 'Perilla was pretended not to be the name', whereas what is required is 'Metella was pretended not to be the name, which was given as Perilla'. On the other hand, **dissimulata Perillae nomine** yields the requisite sense 'disguised under the name of Perilla'. So Am. III. 11. 24 'verbaque compositis dissimulata notis', 'words concealed under agreed signals'. A. A. I. 690 'Achilles veste virum (cp. F. VI. 507) longa dissimulatus erat', 'Achilles had concealed his manhood by a long robe'. A. A. III. 210 'ars dissimulata' 'concealed art'. M. II. 373 'canaeque capillos dissimulant plumae'. XIII. 163 'dissimulat cultu natum'; infra 468 'nomina dissimulare'. IV. 3. 54 'nomen dissimulare viri'. IV. 9. 32 'nomen dissimulare suum'.

438. **nomine dicta, Metelle, tuo**: i. q. dicta Metella. Wives took their husbands' name. Dict. A. II. 235. Merkel suggested that Metella was the notorious adulteress Metella, the wife of P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, with whom the profligate son of Aesop the actor, and Cicero's son-in-law Dolabella, became entangled. Cic. Att. XI. 15. 3; 22. 3. This may be so, but there is no evidence that she was the subject of verses.

439. **Argon**: this form of the accusative in place of the normal **Argo** is found in H. 6. 65; 12. 9. Prop. I. 20. 17. So Ion, Am. II. 2. 45. Heron, Am. II. 16. 31 (Ἥρων Sapp. fr. 71). Didon, H. 7. 133. The form belongs to the Aeolic dialect, Aldi Thesaur. Cornucop. (1496) 268[b] *τὴν δὲ αἰτιατικὴν οἱ Αἰολεῖς καὶ μόνοι προσθέσει τοῦ ν ἐποίουν τὴν Λητών, ὡς καὶ ἡ χρῆσις δηλοῖ.*

P. Terentius Varro Atacinus, born at Atax (Aude) near Carcassone in Gallia Narbonensis, was a poet best known for his epic Argonautica, based on the work of Apollonius Rhodius, describing the expedition of the Argonauts to Colchis, where they put in at its chief river the Phasis, **Phasiacas undas.** Ap. Rhod. II. 1260 *ἵκοντο Φᾶσιν τ' εὐρὺ ῥέοντα καὶ ἔσχατα πείρατα πόντου.* Stat. Silv. II. 7. 77 'et qui per freta duxit Argonautas'. Ov. Am. I. 15. 21 'Varronem primamque ratem quae nesciet aetas, aureaque Aesonio terga petita duci'. A. A. III. 335 'dictaque Varroni fulvis insignia villis vellera germanae, Phrixe, querenda tuae'. He also wrote a geographical poem Chorographia, an Ephemeris, an historical poem Bellum Sequanicum on Caesar's campaign against Ariovistus, Saturae, and erotic elegies celebrating

his mistress Leucadia, to which Ovid here alludes. So Prop. II. 34. 85 'haec quoque perfecto ludebat Iasone Varro, Varro Leucadiae maxima flamma suae'. An epigram by Varro is preserved. Baehrens, P. L. M. IV, p. 64 'marmoreo Licinus tumulo iacet, at Cato nullo, Pompeius parvo. credimus esse deos?'

440. **Veneris**: 363 n.

furta: 249 n.

441. **Hortensi**: the orator and rival of Cicero, Q. **Hortensius** Hortalus. He is mentioned with **Servius** among those who wrote 'versiculos severos parum', by Pliny, Ep. V. 3. 5 'ego verear, ne me non satis deceat, quod decuit M. Tullium, C. Calvum, Asinium Pollionem, M. Messalam, Q. Hortensium, M. Brutum, L. Sullam, Q. Catulum, Q. Scaevolam, Servium Sulpicium, M. Varronem, L. Torquatum, immo Torquatos, C. Memmium, Lentulum Gaetulicum, Annaeum Senecam, Annaeum Lucanum et proxime Verginium Rufum et, si non sufficiunt exempla privata, divum Iulium, divum Augustum, divum Nervam, Tiberium Caesarem?' His poems, probably erotic epigrams, are described by Gellius as inelegant, N. A. XIX. 9. 7 'Laevius inplicata et Hortensius invenusta et Cinna inlepida et Memmius dura ac deinceps omnes rudia fecerunt atque absona'. Catullus 95. 3 seems to contrast the finished brevity of Cinna's poetry with the careless fertility of Hortensius; but there the loss of a pentameter render both reading and meaning open to doubt. Varro, L. L. VIII. 14 refers to 'Hortensius in poematis "cervix"'.

Servius, mentioned by Pliny, loc. cit., as a writer of immodest (**improba**) verses, is probably the Servius to whom Horace appeals, as one of the band of literary friends to whose judgement he attaches weight, Sat. I. 10. 86 'ambitione relegata, te dicere possum, Pollio, te Messalla, tuo cum fratre, simulque vos, Bibule et Servi'. It is usually supposed that he was the son of the celebrated jurist Servius Sulpicius Rufus (his biography in Tyrrell and Purser, Cicero's Letters IV². lxxxix), consul 51 B. C., Cicero's antagonist in his defence of Murena, and the father of the poetess Sulpicia of the Tibullus corpus (Cartault, Tibullus, p. 80. So Teuffel, 242. 3. Plessis, Poésie lat., p. 187), but, since Servius the son must have been at least forty-five years old when Horace wrote Sat. I. 10, L. Müller considers that Servius the poet was his grandson. Schanz, röm. Litt. II³. 1, p. 366. Lejay on Hor. Sat. I. 10. 86.

Heinsius, apparently objecting to the designation by the praenomen Servius, proposed to read **Laevi**, which conjecture is accepted by Schwabe, Quaest. Catull., p. 310. But the praenomen is unobjectionable, as Cicero constantly speaks of Sulpicius Rufus as Servius in the pro Murena, e. g. 28 'si id, quod oportet, responderis, idem videare respondisse, quod Servius', and the introduction here is chronologically impossible of the early poet Laevius, author of the Erotopaegnia, for whom see Schanz, I². 37.

Ellis, Comm. Catull., p. 197, suggested that Servius is the Servius Claudius or Clodius of Cic. Fam. IX. 16. 4 mentioned as 'litteratissimus', an expert critic of Plautus, probably identical with the grammarian Servius Clodius of Suet. Gramm. 2. But he was a grammarian, not a poet.

442. **nomina tanta**: i. q. viros tanti nominis. Hortensius and Servius were both 'nobiles'. P. III. 1. 55 'si locus est aliquis tanta inter nomina parvis, nos quoque conspicuos nostra ruina facit'. Am. III. 6. 102 'iactasse indigne nomina tanta (names of such dis-

tinguished rivers) pudet'. T. III. 4. 4 'vive tibi et longe nomina magna fuge'. P. I. 4. 26 'si modo non verum nomina magna premunt'. M. XV. 825 'et magnum Siculis nomen superabitur undis', i.e. Sextus Pompeius, the son of Pompeius Magnus. Claudian imitates Ovid, in Eutrop. I. 60 'quis nomina possit tanta sequi?' Iuv. 13. 248 'poena gaudetis amara nominis invisi' (man of hated name).

443. **vertit:** translated. P. IV. 16. 27. L. Cornelius **Sisenna,** praetor 78 B.C., an historian, wrote a history mainly of the period of Sulla, Sall. Iug. 95. 2. Cic. Leg. I. 2. 7. Brutus 228. He also translated the Milesiaca of Aristides, 413 n.; the few surviving fragments of this translation are printed in Bücheler's Petronius, ed. 3, p. 237.

444. The meaning of **historiae turpis inseruisse iocos** is obscure. (1) Bürger, Hermes XXVII. 345 foll., understanding **historiae,** 'his narrative', supr. 416, to mean the Milesiaca, supposes that Sisenna added to its indelicacy by inserting further risky stories of his own, which, as he was an historian of high repute, is unlikely. (2) Purser, Apuleius, p. 126, thinks that Sisenna translated both the Milesiaca and Histories of Aristides, inserting into the latter indecent jokes. But since Aristides' name is closely associated with the Milesiaca it is doubtful whether he in fact composed any Histories, and questionable whether the Pseudo-Plutarch is right in ascribing to him *Ἰταλικά*, *Περσικά*, and *Σικελικά*. The author of those works and of the *περὶ Κνίδου* and *περὶ παροιμιῶν* was probably a different person. Pauly-Wissowa II. 886.

Therefore the meaning appears to be that Sisenna flavoured his own History by inserting into it indelicate anecdotes. Fronto commends Sisenna as a stylist on account of his choice selection of words, p. 62 Naber, 'praeter hos, partim scriptorum animadvertas particulatim elegantis, Novium et Pomponium . . . in verbis rusticanis et iocularibus ac ridiculariis, Attam in muliebribus, Sisennam in lasciviis ("lascivis" Mai)'.

inseruisse iocos: Quintilian uses the expression of introducing jests into oratory, Inst. II. 10. 9 'utinam . . . iocos inserere moris esset'.

445. Cornelius Gallus of Forum Iulii (69–26 B.C.), a distinguished general of Augustus, held a command at the battle of Actium, and after the death of Cleopatra was appointed first prefect of Egypt, which he governed for four years, but on account of his insolence incurred the disfavour of Augustus; he was prosecuted and deprived by the Senate of his property; and committed suicide in his forty-third year. Servius says that he conspired against Augustus, Ec. 10. 1 'cum venisset in suspicionem, quod contra eum coniuraret, occisus est', which agrees with Ovid's words Am. III. 9. 63 'tu quoque, si falsum est temerati ('betrayed', i.e. treason) crimen amici (i.e. Augustus), sanguinis atque animae, prodige Galle, tuae'. Suetonius is less definite, Aug. 66 'ob ingratum et malevolum animum domo et provinciis suis interdixit'. Ovid here hints that he spoke disrespectfully of the emperor, which agrees with Dio LIII. 23 *ὁ δὲ δὴ Γᾶλλος Κορνήλιος καὶ ἐξύβρισεν ὑπὸ τῆς τιμῆς· πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ μάταια ἐς τὸν Αὔγουστον ἀπελήρει, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπαίτια παρέπραττε· καὶ γὰρ καὶ εἰκόνας ἑαυτοῦ ἐν ὅλῃ ὡς εἰπεῖν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ἔστησε, καὶ ἔργα ὅσα ἐπεποιήκει ἐς τὰς πυραμίδας ἐσέγραψε.*

Gallus was a friend of Virgil's youth: his regard for him is shown by the allusion in Ec. 6. 64; and by Ec. 10, in which he consoles Gallus for the loss of his lady Lycoris. Servius, Ec. 10. 1, says that

Virgil originally concluded Georgic IV with a tribute to Gallus, but, when Gallus was disgraced, substituted for it the final episode of Aristaeus. There is no reason for rejecting the statement of Servius, 'no sane critic . . . can imagine that the fact reported by Servius was fiction' (J. S. Phillimore, Ille Ego, p. 11). Schanz, II³. 1. 56. On the other side see F. W. H. Myers, Essays, p. 161.

Besides translations of poems of Euphorion, probably Epyllia, Serv. Verg. Ec. 6. 72; 10. 1, Gallus, the first in order of the great Roman elegiac poets, T. IV. 10. 53, wrote four books of love elegies: Serv. Ec. 10. 1 'amorum suorum de Cytheride scripsit libros quattuor . . . hic autem Gallus amavit Cytheridem meretricem, libertam Volumnii'. In these poems, the title of which was probably Amores, Schanz, loc. cit. 208, he celebrated his mistress, this freedwoman Volumnia, a mima by profession, whose stage name was Cytheris, Lycoris being the name by which she was known in verse. Aurel. Vict. De vir. ill. 82 [Brutus] 'Cytheridem mimam cum Antonio et Gallo poeta amavit'. Plessis, Poésie lat., p. 298. Propertius classes these elegies with the works of Varro, Calvus, and Catullus, II. 34. 85 'haec quoque perfecto ludebat Iasone Varro, Varro Leucadiae maxima flamma suae, haec quoque lascivi cantarunt scripta Catulli, Lesbia quis ipsa notior est Helena, haec etiam docti confessa est pagina Calvi, cum caneret miserae funera Quintiliae, et modo formosa quam multa Lycoride Gallus mortuus inferna vulnera lavit aqua!' Ovid joins Gallus with Propertius and Tibullus, A. A. III. 333 'et teneri possis carmen legisse Properti, sive aliquid Galli, sive, Tibulle, tuum'. T. V. 1. 17 'aptior huic Gallus blandique Propertius oris, aptior, ingenium come, Tibullus erit': and speaks of him as a poet of the first rank, Am. I. 15. 29 'Gallus et Hesperiis et Gallus notus Eois, et sua cum Gallo nota Lycoris erit'. A. A. III. 537 'Vesper et Eoae novere Lycorida terrae': and attributes to him emotional effectiveness, Rem. 765 'quis poterit lecto durus discedere Gallo?' Quintilian applies the epithet 'durus' to Gallus with regard to his inartistic finish, X. 1. 93 'Ovidius utroque lascivior, sicut durior Gallus'. Martial includes him in a list of elegiac poets VIII. 73. 6 'ingenium Galli pulchra Lycoris erat'. See T. Frank, Vergil, p. 119.

Skutsch, Aus Vergils Frühzeit, p. 82 foll., ingeniously maintained that the little epyllion on the Scylla legend Ciris, which forms part of the Appendix Vergiliana, is the work of Gallus. See Schanz, II. 1. 97 foll. This theory rests largely on parallels with Virgil, in which Skutsch contends that Virgil borrowed from Gallus: it is, however, more likely that the author of the Ciris should have borrowed from Virgil. Skutsch's theory is generally rejected: the author of the Ciris long disputed has, I think, now been shown by Frank to be Virgil himself. Vergil, pp. 35 foll., 87 foll.

446. **nimio . . . mero**: III. 5. 48 'lapsaque sunt nimio verba profana mero'.

447. **Tibullus**, born between 55 and 50 B.C., died in the same year as Virgil, 19 B.C., was the second chronologically after Gallus in the series of Roman elegiac poets. T. IV. 10. 51 'nec avara Tibullo tempus amicitiae fata dedere meae. successor fuit hic tibi, Galle, Propertius illi; quartus ab his serie temporis ipse fui'. Their merits are thus estimated by Quintilian, Inst. X. 1. 93 'elegea quoque Graecos provocamus, cuius mihi tersus atque elegans maxime videtur auctor Tibullus: sunt qui Propertium malint. Ovidius utroque lascivior, sicut durior Gallus'. Tibullus' poems are chiefly inspired by his

love of two women, whom he calls by the names of goddesses, Delia and Nemesis, the first is the subject of Book I, the second of Book II.

Ovid's elegy on the death of Tibullus, Am. III. 9 'must not be mistaken for a description of facts. Its purely literary and imaginative character is shown inter alia by the number of allusions to the two books of elegies which are introduced with Ovid's usual deftness. See lines 8, 13, 17, 19, 33, 47, 52, 58'. Postgate, Selections from Tibullus, p. 174. Other references to Tibullus in Ovid are Am. I. 15. 27 'donec erunt ignes arcusque Cupidinis arma, discentur numeri, culte Tibulle, tui'. A. A. III. 333 'et teneri possis carmen legisse Properti, sive aliquid Galli, sive, Tibulle, tuum'. 536 'nomen habet Nemesis, Cynthia nomen habet'. Rem. 763 'carmina quis potuit tuto legisse Tibulli?' T. V. 1. 18 'aptior, ingenium come, Tibullus erit'.

447–62. This passage is a pretty close adaptation of Tibull. I. 6. 7–32, with the exception that line 449 combines Tibull. I. 6. 9 and I. 2. 15, where 'falle' suggested **fallere** to Ovid in this passage, and lines 459, 460 are drawn from Tibull. I. 5. 74. I subjoin the lines of Tibullus, with marginal references to the corresponding lines of Ovid.

Tibull. I. 2. 15

tu quoque ne timide custodes, Delia, falle — Ov. 449

Tibull. I. 5. 73

et simulat transire domum, mox deinde recurrit
solus et ante ipsas exscreat usque fores. — Ov. 459, 460

Tibull. I. 6. 5

5 nam mihi tenduntur casses: iam Delia furtim
nescioquem tacita callida nocte fovet.
illa quidem tam multa negat, sed credere durum est. — Ov. 447
sic etiam de me pernegat usque viro. — 448
ipse miser docui, quo posset ludere pacto — 449
10 custodes: heu heu nunc premor arte mea. — 450
fingere tunc didicit causas, ut sola cubaret,
cardine tunc tacito vertere posse fores:
tunc sucos herbasque dedi quis livor abiret, — 455
quem facit impresso mutua dente Venus. — 456
15 at tu, fallacis coniunx incaute puellae, — 457
me quoque servato, peccet ut illa nihil, — 458
neu iuvenes celebret multo sermone caveto
neve cubet laxo pectus aperta sinu,
neu te decipiat nutu, digitoque liquorem — 453
20 ne trahat et mensae ducat in orbe notas. — 454
. . . . . .
25 saepe velut gemmas eius signumque probarem, — 451
per causam memini me tetigisse manum. — 452
. . . . . .
31 ille ego sum, nec me iam dicere vera pudebit,
instabat tota cui tua nocte canis. } 459

In the last passage line 7 **tam multa** is generally regarded as meaningless: most editors adopt the conjecture of Heyne **iurata** based on T. 447. Cp. Am. III. 3. 1. Rem. 303. Cartault conjectures

quam multa! remarking justly that Ovid's adaptation does not follow Tibullus with slavish verbal exactness. I see no reason, however, why **tam multa** should be altered. The meaning is 'she makes ever so many denials', 'she denies it ever so constantly'. **Tam** joined to **multus** is frequently merely a strengthened equivalent of **multus**; Prop. I. 4. 1 'quid mihi tam multas laudando, Basse, puellas mutatum domina cogis abire mea'. II. 20. 27 'cum te tam multi peterent, tu me una petisti?' III. 22. 1 'frigida tam multos placuit tibi Cyzicus annos'. Cic. Ep. ad Brut. I. 15. 1 'quibus igitur litteris tam accurate scriptis assequi possum, subtilius ut explicem, quae gerantur?' translated thus by Purser, ad loc., 'by what letters of mine, be they ever so carefully composed, can I succeed in describing with more minute accuracy the course of affairs?'

Ovid here mentions his source Tibullus by name. In several passages he names directly the poets who were his inspirers, Catullus Am. III. 9. 61; 15. 7; Tibullus Am. I. 15. 27, III. 9. 65, A. A. III. 334, Rem. 763, T. II. 465, IV. 10. 51; Virgil Am. III. 15. 7, Rem. 396, T. II. 533, IV. 10. 51; Horace T. IV. 10. 49; Propertius A. A. III. 333, Rem. 764, T. IV. 10. 45, 53. Washietl, De similitudinibus imaginibusque Ovidianis, p. 116.

447. **credere iuranti:** believe her denials on oath.

durum, 'difficult'. H. 21. 23 'iamque venire videt quos non admittere durum est'. Mart. II. 44. 11 'durum est, Sexte, negare, cum rogaris, quanto durius, antequam rogeris'.

448. **sic . . . quod:** 'because in the same way' also she denies her guilt concerning herself to her husband. **sic,** the correction of Dousa of the reading of MSS., hic L, hoc Γω, is required by the sense and supported by Tibull. I. 6. 8.

449. **custodes idem:** this correction was made independently by Francius (1645–1704), whose marginal emendations were published by Merkel, Trist. 1837, p. xli, and by Bentley (1662–1742), in his copy of the Elzevir edition of 1661 now in the British Museum (see my edition of Trist. 1889, p. cvi). **L** has **custoden,** with the next word obliterated, **tandem** being afterwards added by a later hand, which with **custodem** is also the reading of GHPV. The other MSS. have **custodem demum.** The conjecture adopted is neat because it conserves the plural **custodes** which is found in Tibull. I. 6. 10 and I. 2. 15, to which passages Ovid refers. **idem** 'he also': so P. I. 2. 57 'saepe precor mortem, mortem quoque deprecor idem'. Ibis 27 'audiet haec Pontus. faciet quoque forsitan idem terra sit ut propior testificanda mihi'. M. XIII. 798 'saevior indomitis eadem Galatea iuvencis'. Hor. Carm. II. 10. 22 'sapienter idem contrahes . . . vela'.

With **docuisse** the subject of the infin. **se** is omitted, as is often the case after verbs of saying and thinking, especially when, as here, the accusative with infinitive has another infinitive with the same subject dependent on it. Madvig, L. Gr. § 401. Kühner II. 1. 700. So IV. 1. 46 'ille nec iratos sentit habere deos'. M. II. 599 'dominoque iacentem cum iuvene Haemonio vidisse Coronida narrat'. Tibull, I. 3. 27 'nunc dea, nunc succurre mihi, nam posse mederi picta docet templis multa tabella tuis'. Cic. Rosc. Am. 61 'confitere huc ea spe venisse, quod putares'.

idem, based on the corrupt **tandem,** may have been the original reading of L. Neither **tandem** nor **demum** yields any satisfactory meaning; what they might express is expressed below in 457 by **denique.** Keeping **custodem** Goldbacher conjectures **pridem**

'formerly' in contrast with **nunc** in the pentameter (Wiener Studien XXVI. 283); while most editors accept **dominam**, the conjecture of I. F. Gronovius, but, with **dominae** so near l. 451, this is unlikely.

450. **premi**, 'overpowered'. A. A. II. 317 'cum modo frigoribus premitur, modo solvitur aestu'. P. II. 3 2 'nec sinis ingenium nobilitate premi'.

451. **gemmam**: a precious stone set in a ring ('anulus').

signum, the device engraved on the signet ring. The poet pretended to test the value of some precious stone or the artistic workmanship of the design engraved on his lady's signet ring. The Romans were very fond of gems, of which they were expert connoisseurs, and availed themselves of numerous methods of testing them. Pliny devotes Book XXXVII of his Natural History to precious stones, and concludes it with remarks on tests of frauds, § 196 foll. Plaut. Asin. 778 'spectandum ne cui anulum det neque roget'. Of gems the sardonyx was highly valued, Pers. 1. 16. Iuv. 6. 382; 7. 144; 13. 138. Mart. II. 29. 2. Set in rings, as signets, gems were used for sealing. T. V. 4. 5 'flens quoque me scripsit: nec qua signabar, ad os est ante, sed ad madidas gemma relata genas'. Am. II. 15. 16 'neve tenax ceram siccaque gemma trahat'. P. II. 9. 69 'nec mea subiecta convicta est gemma tabella mendacem linis inposuisse notam'. P. II. 10. 7 'oblitus pariter gemmaeque manusque'.

signum, which sometimes means the impression of the device, the 'seal', Am. II. 18. 29 'candida Penelope signum cognovit Vlixis', Hor. Sat. II. 6. 38 'imprimat his, cura, Maecenas signa tabellis', Prop. III. 20. 17 'haec Amor ipse suo constringit pignora signo', here means the design on the gem, the 'signet', Cic. Quint. 25 'tabulae signis hominum nobilium consignantur'; II. Verr. V. 102 'obsignat signis amicorum providens homo'; Cluent. 41 'testamentum signis adulterinis obsignavit'. These designs, either in relief (cameos) or sunk (intaglios), consisted of legendary or mythological subjects, or portraits; so of Ovid himself, T. I. 7. 5 'hoc tibi dissimula, senti tamen, optime, dici, in digito qui me fersque refersque tuo, effigiemque meam fulvo complexus in auro cara relegati, quae potes, ora vides'. Cic. Cat. III. 10 'est vero notum quidem signum, imago avi tui, clarissimi viri'. Thus **signum** here means the signet ring, **gemmam** a precious stone, worn as a jewel or on a ring. See Kunz on Med. Fac. 20. In the original of Tibull. I. 6. 25 'velut gemmas eius signumque probarem' the plural 'gemmas' means the precious stones on the rings or the jewels she wears and 'signum' the device on the signet. The girl may have worn several rings, a fashion with the luxurious. A. A. III. 446 'anulus in digitis alter et alter erit'. Mart. XI. 59. 1 'senos Charinus omnibus digitis gerit, nec nocte ponit anulos'. The reading of a few MSS. **signumque** is interpolated from Tibullus, whom Ovid reproduces loosely.

dominae: a word often used by Tibullus of his mistress. I. 1. 46; 5. 40. II. 3. 5, 79; 4. 1.

452. **per causam**, 'by way of pretext'. 'Per' expresses manner. H. 20. 140 'candida per causam brachia saepe tenet'. Liv. I. 49. 5 'perque eam causam occidere'. II. 32. 1 'per causam renovati ab Aequis belli'. Caes. B. G. VII. 9. 1 'Caesar per causam supplementi equitatusque cogendi ab exercitu discedit'. Suet. Iul. 2 'repetita Bithynia per causam exigendae pecuniae'.

453. Clandestine signals between lovers by gesture and scribbling with wine are often alluded to. Tibull. I. 2. 21 'illa viro coram nutus

conferre loquaces blandaque compositis abdere verba notis'. Prop. III. 8. 25 'tecta superciliis si quando verba remittis, aut tua cum digitis scripta silenda notas'. Ov. H. 17. 81 'a, quotiens digitis, quotiens ego tecta notavi signa supercilio paene loquente dari!' 87 'orbe quoque in mensae legi sub nomine nostro, quod deducta mero littera fecit "amo"'. Am. I. 4. 17 'me specta nutusque meos vultumque loquacem, excipe furtivas et refer ipsa notas. verba superciliis sine voce loquentia dicam: verba leges digitis, verba notata mero'. II. 5. 17 'non oculi tacuere tui, conscriptaque vino mensa, nec in digitis littera nulla fuit'. A. A. I. 499 'illam respicias, illam mirere licebit, multa supercilio, multa loquare notis'. 569 'hic tibi multa licet sermone latentia tecto dicere, quae dici sentiat illa sibi, blanditiasque leves tenui perscribere vino, ut dominam in mensa se legat illa tuam'.

454. **orbe**: round tables with a single foot came into fashion 187 B.C. after the war with Antiochus. Liv. XXXIX. 6. 7. They were made of costly woods and of elaborate workmanship, Dict. A. II. 157.

455. **e**: of the cause. H. 11. 104 'et meus ex isto luceat igne rogus'. M. VI. 629 'sed simul ex nimia matrem pietate labare sensit'. Lucr. III. 157 'concidere ex animi terrore videmus saepe homines'. V. 1145 'genus humanum . . . ex inimicitiis languebat'.

livor: blue mark. Am. I. 7. 41 'aptius inpressis fuerat livere labellis et collo blandi dentis habere notam'. 8. 98 'factaque lascivis livida colla notis'. III. 14. 34 'collaque conspicio dentis habere notam'. Prop. III. 8. 21 'in morso aequales videant mea vulnera collo: me doceat livor mecum habuisse meam'. Tibull. I. 8. 37 'et dare anhelanti pugnantibus umida linguis oscula et in collo figere dente notas'. Hor. Carm. I. 13. 9 'uror, seu tibi candidos turparunt umeros inmodicae mero rixae, sive puer furens inpressit memorem dente labris notam'.

457. **nimium petit**: he asks too eagerly. So **nimium** joined with a verb, M. IX. 462 'nimiumque cupit formosa videri'. Am. II. 2. 45 'dum nimium servat custos Iunonius Ion'. 5. 11 'nimiumque suo favet ille dolori'. **nimium** is not joined with **incauto**, Tibullus says merely, I. 6. 15 'coniunx incaute'.

incauto . . . marito. Contrast M. IX. 751 'nec cauti cura mariti'. Cp. Am. II. 19. 37 'at tu, formosae nimium secure puellae, incipe iam prima claudere nocte forem'.

458. **servet**, 'guard', 'watch'. Ter. Eun. 902 CH. 'quin, Pythias, tu me servato'. PY. 'neque pol servandum tibi quicquam dare ausim neque te servare'. Plaut. Rud. 895 'sed uxor scelesta me omnibus servat modis'. Ov. Am. II. 19. 47 'nisi tu servare puellam incipis, incipiet desinere esse mea'.

459. **qui**, the correction of Heinsius for **cui** MSS., is necessary because where the intransitive verb 'latrare' acquires a transitive meaning (Roby, L. Gr. 1123) it is constructed with an accusative of the direct, not with a dative of the indirect object. Am. II. 19. 40 'incipe . . . quaerere, quid latrent nocte silente canes ("at what the dogs are barking")'. Cic. de Or. II. 220 'meus frater . . . a Philippo interrogatus quid latraret ("at what he was bawling"), furem se videre respondit'. Plaut. Poen. 1234 'etiam me meae latrant canes?' Hor. Epod. 5. 57 'senem, quod omnes rideant, adulterum latrent suburanae canes'. Sat. II. 1. 85 'siquis opprobriis dignum latraverit'. Ep. I. 2. 65 'venaticus ex quo tempore cervinam pellem latravit in aula'. Stat.

Silv. I. 3. 5 'illum nec calido latravit Sirius astro'. II. 1. 184 'illum nec terno latrabit Cerberus ore'. Theb. I. 550 'frustraque sonantia lassant ora canes umbramque petunt et nubila latrant'. Here, according to ordinary usage, the direct object of the active becomes the subject of the passive: Plin. N. H. XXV. 126 'hanc habentes negant latrari a canibus'. XXVIII. 100 'eos qui linguam in calciamento sub pede habeant non latrari a canibus'. XXX. 147 'non latrari a cane membranam canis habentem'. So in English to 'bay' is used transitively, Shakespeare, Cymbeline V. 5. 223 'set the dogs o' the street to bay me'.

latretur is a free rendering of 'instabat', i.e. latratu (Dissen) in Tibull. I. 6. 32 'instabat tota cui tua nocte canis', 'at whom your dog used to bark all night long'.

The watch-dog, the lover's terror, is a commonplace in ancient poets. Antipater, Anth. P. V. 30. 3 *ἦν μὲν γὰρ τὸ χάραγμα φέρῃς, φίλος, οὔτε θυρωρὸς ἐν ποσὶν οὔτε κύων ἐν προθύροις δέδεται.* Tibull. II. 4. 32 'coepit custos liminis esse canis'. Hor. Epod. 5. 57 (quoted above). Prop. IV. 5. 73 'et canis in nostros nimis experrecta dolores, cum fallenda meo pollice claustra forent'. Hor. Carm. III. 16. 2.

Loers, approved by Tank, de Trist. Ov. rec. p. 35, explains **latrare** as equivalent to 'clamare', and reading **cui** understands **cui latretur** as either (1) sc. 'sibi, a puella sive amica', or (2) 'a se amicae'. But either alternative, that the lady should have barked at her lover as a signal, or the lover at his lady is unthinkable.

The words **cum solus obambulet ipsas cui totiens clausas excreet ante fores** are a free reproduction of Tibull. I. 5. 73 'et simulat transire domum, mox deinde recurrit solus et ante ipsas exscreat ante fores': **obambulet**, which condenses the sense of 'transire domum' and 'mox deinde recurrit', subjunctive by attraction after **latretur**, means 'walks to and fro before Delia's house'.

ipsas, my correction, accepted by Ehwald-Levy, reproduces the expression of Tibull. I. 5. 74 'ante ipsas exscreat usque fores', and is therefore preferable to **ipse** the reading of the MSS., retained usually by editors either (1) with the comma placed after **obambulet**, in which case **ipse** contrasts the lover with the dog 'he knows during his lonely prowling at whom the dog is barking, and to whom his own coughing is directed', or (2) with the comma placed after **ipse.** So Heinsius and Ehwald, who moreover adopt from the corrupt Gothanus and a few MSS. **cur** in place of **cui** in l. 460. But this is no improvement: it sacrifices the opposition expressed by **ipse**; and **cur** 'why' is weaker than the dativus commodi **cui** 'for whom his coughing is intended'. **Cui** is necessary to produce this meaning, and that it is the meaning intended is clear from Ov. H. 21. 24 'excreat et ficta dat mihi signa nota'. **excreet** means 'coughs' as a signal.

In his free adaptation of Tibull. I. 5. 73–4 Ovid applies to Tibullus himself what in Tibullus is said of another person, a lover of Delia, who in turn outwits the rival who had supplanted the poet.

461. **furti**: 249 n.

praecepta: Tibull. I. 4. 79 'tempus erit, cum me Veneris praecepta ferentem deducat iuvenum sedula turba senem'. I. 5. 59 'sagae praecepta rapacis'.

462. **ab**: 28 n. Tibull. I. 9. 65 'nec tu, stultissime, sentis, cum tibi non solita corpus ab arte movet'. For the rare elision **fallere ab** see Hilberg, p. 8.

463. **fraudi**: cause of damage. Predicative dative, Roby, L. Gr. ii, Pref., p. xlvii b.

legitur: 370 n.

464. **te principe**: Augustus in his sixth consulship 28 B. C. cancelled the acts of the Triumvirate (Tac. A. III. 28. 3 'sexto demum consulatu Caesar Augustus, potentiae securus, quae triumviratu iusserat abolevit deditque iura, quis pace et principe uteremur') by a single decree (Dio LIII. 2 δι' ἑνὸς προγράμματος) fixing the end of that year as the period of the expiry of their validity (Dio, loc. cit.). Then on 13 Jan. 27 B. C. (Fast. Praen. C. I. L. I², p. 307) in the Senate he formally laid down his triumviral power (Mon. Anc. 34. 15 'rem publicam ex mea potestate in senatus populique Romani arbitrium transtuli'. Dio LIII. 2 foll.), and the new arrangement followed. On 16 Jan. he assumed the name Augustus, nominally conferred by the Senate, Mon. Anc. 34. 16 'quo pro merito meo senatus consulto Augustus appellatus sum'. Suet. Aug. 7. The unofficial title **princeps** 'first citizen', sanctioned by republican precedent, came into use as a designation of the emperor from that time: and is used by Augustus himself in the Mon. Anc. 13. 45 'Ianum . . . ter me principe senatus claudendum esse censuit'. ibid. 32. 6 'me principe'. Ovid means that Tibullus was already a poet of repute when the reign of Augustus began in 27 B. C. Tibullus died in 19 B. C.

465–6. Lachmann, Propert. praef., p. xxi, argued that as there are no such definite **praecepta** in the extant works of Propertius, as are referred to in 461–4, poems of Propertius containing them must have existed, which are now lost. But Ovid having devoted some space to Tibullus, whose matter closely resembled his own, says briefly and truly of Propertius that **eadem praecepta**, similar teaching, can be found in him; I. 10, addressed to Gallus, is a veritable lover's manual, and almost any poem dealing with Cynthia's infidelities may be described as inculcating unchastity, such as II. 16, the Illyrian praetor, who supplanted the poet in Cynthia's affections; II. 23, the lover's bribes to the servants; IV. 7. 17, Cynthia climbing down a rope to her lover's embrace; IV. 1. 146, the thousand guards eluded and doors vainly barred against the lover; IV. 5. 21 foll., the immoral precepts of the procuress Acanthis, which corrupt her young mistress. Therefore Lachmann's assumption is generally rejected, that a portion of Propertius' second book has been lost after II. 9, wherein were contained the **praecepta** here alluded to. Hertzberg, Quaestt. Prop., p. 211 foll. Baehrens, Prop. Prolegg., p. xl.

465. **blandi**. When in A. A. III. 333 'et teneri possis carmen legisse Properti' Ovid calls Propertius 'tener', he refers merely to the erotic subject of his verse. The epithet **blandus**, applied to him here and in V. 1. 17 'blandi Propertius oris' ('winning language'), strikes a deeper note of critical analysis. It expresses the soft persuasive winning character of his love poetry; his subtle power of exciting sympathy. 'He has no secrets with us, he admits us to his inmost feelings; and, before we know it, our heart is engaged in return and is ready to respond to his appeals'. Postgate, Select Elegies of Propertius, p. lxxvii. Propertius himself affects this epithet; he speaks of the 'seductive lover', II. 3. 16 'blandus amator'; of the 'winsome nymphs', IV. 4. 25 'blandae nymphae'; of the 'engaging artifices' of his mistress, III. 23. 18 'blandi doli'; of the 'soft warfare of Venus', IV. 1. 137 'Veneris blanda arma'; of the 'cunning flattery' of the lover, I. 16. 16 'arguta blanditia'; of the 'attractions', the gifts which purchase kisses, III. 13. 33 'blanditiae'.

Propertius, with whom Ovid was on terms of friendship, IV. 10. 45 'saepe suos solitus recitare Propertius ignes iure sodalicii, quo mihi iunctus erat', is mentioned ibid. 53. A.A. III. 333 'et teneri possis carmen legisse Properti'. Rem. 764 'carmina quis potuit tuto legisse Tibulli, vel tua, cuius opus Cynthia sola fuit?' T. V. 1. 17 'aptior huic Gallus blandique Propertius oris'.

466. **destrictus**, 'injured', as inf. 563, supr. 350 n. Phaedr. I. 29. 1 'plerumque stulti risum dum captant levem, gravi destringunt alios contumelia'. The use is derived from the physical sense of the verb 'to wound lightly, graze'. M. VIII. 382 'summum destrinxit harundo corpus'. XII. 101 'nec tertia cuspis apertum et se praetentem valuit destringere Cycnum'. So 'indestrictus' 'uninjured'. M. XII. 91 'removebitur huius tegminis officium, tamen indestrictus abibo'.

467. **successi**: 447 n. IV. 10. 51 'nec avara Tibullo tempus amicitiae fata dedere meae. successor fuit hic tibi, Galle, Propertius illi; quartus ab his serie temporis ipse fui'. The series of Roman elegiac poets comprises Gallus, 69–26 B.C.; Tibullus, about 54–19 B.C.; Propertius, 50–15 B.C.; Ovid, 43 B.C.–A.D. 17. See Plessis, Études sur Properce, p. 205.

quoniam . . . iubet. He mentions the three celebrated elegiac love poets now deceased, and himself the fourth in the succession, but suppresses the names of others still alive out of consideration lest, like himself, they may incur the emperor's disfavour on account of their amatory subject matter. The catalogue of poets given in P. IV. 16 (see the comments of Schanz, Gesch. röm. Litt. II. 1. 360 foll.) affords some basis for conjecturing at least who were some among these unmentioned poets: such were Montanus, who wrote elegiacs, P. IV. 16. 11 'inparibus numeris'; Sabinus, loc. cit. 13, Am. II. 18. 27 foll., who wrote Heroides; Tuscus, loc. cit. 20, whose Phyllis was an erotic poem or poems in elegiac verse; Proculus, loc. cit. 32 'Callimachi Proculus molle teneret iter', author probably of erotic elegies in the Alexandrine manner; Fontanus, loc. cit. 35, who sang the loves of the Satyrs and Nymphs; Capella, who wrote elegiac poems, 'inparibus modis', loc. cit. 36; and possibly Marius, who is described (loc. cit. 24) as 'scripti dexter in omne genus'; Grattius, who, if I am right in my reconstruction of loc. cit. 33, wrote Bucolics, and the poetess Perilla, who wrote poetry inspired by a Greek model (T. III. 7. 12 'doctaque non patrio carmina more canis'), and was apparently a lyric poetess who emulated Sappho, T. III. 7. 20 'sola tuum vates Lesbia vincet opus'. She was a young poetess, a pupil of Ovid; since Ovid had only one daughter, who was twice married (IV. 10. 75), she was certainly not his daughter, though this error is strangely persistent. Schanz, II. 1. 366.

candor: properly 'purity of motive', 'simplicity', 'honesty', 'sincerity', acquires the meaning of 'kindness', 'consideration', 'benevolence' (inf. 572). III. 6. 7 'quique est in caris animi tibi candor amicis'. IV. 4. 3, 4. V. 3. 53 'si vestrum merui candore favorem'. P. II. 5. 5 'candor, in hoc aevo res intermortua paene'. III. 4. 13 'viribus infirmi vestro candore valemus'. So **candidus**, 'kindly', 'considerate', 'unprejudiced', supr. 80, inf. 565: thus it is joined with 'benignus' Mart. IV. 86. 5 'nec candidius benigniusque'. Cp. Plin. Ep. III. 21. 1 (of the poet Martial) 'erat homo . . . qui plurimum in scribendo et salis haberet et fellis nec candoris (good nature) minus'.

468. **nomina . . . dissimulare**: i. e. for fear I might cause trouble to them.

469. **tot . . . carinae,** 'tot ingenia poetarum' (Merula). Poetry is metaphorically described as the ocean over which poets voyage. Verg. G. II. 41 'pelagoque volans da vela patenti . . . primi lege litoris oram: in manibus terrae'. On this ocean Ovid had suffered shipwreck. V. 12. 49 'nil mihi debebat cum versibus amplius esse, cum fugerem merito naufragus omne 'retum'. P. IV. 14. 21 'ad veteres scopulos iterum devertar et illas, in quibus offendit naufraga puppis, aquas?'

471–84. Poems on the art of gambling are reviewed.

471. **aliis**: dative of agent, 'some', opposed to **alius** 485 'another', **aliis** 487 'others'.

alea: a general term for games played for a stake, especially games in which dice were employed. The writers on 'alea' referred to are unknown; later, the Emperor Claudius 'aleam studiosissime lusit, de cuius arte librum quoque emisit' Suet. Claud. 33.

472. **hoc** is preferable to **haec**, the reading of G, conjectured also by Bentley, because the attraction of the pronoun to the gender of the predicate is in conformity with Latin idiom. H. 2. 56 'debuit haec meriti summa fuisse mei'. 3. 8 'quamvis haec quoque culpa tua est'. Roby, L. Gr. 1068.

erat, found in one thirteenth-century British Museum MS., for which other MSS. have **est** (accepted generally by editors), is strongly supported on metrical grounds by Hilberg, p. 734, because (1) Ovid preferentially begins the pentameter with a dactyl rather than a spondee, and (2) when he does begin with a spondee, the end of the first foot does not coincide with the end of a word. If the line had begun with a spondee, it would have run **ad nostros est hoc,** like 50 'sic victum cur se'; 266 'nil prodest quod non'; P. III. 1. 40 'et niti pro me'; 6. 8 'si nescis ex me' (Hilberg, p. 786; cp. Prop. II. 15. 12 'si nescis, oculi sunt in amore duces'); 6. 56 'non ultra, quam vis' Hilberg, p. 752 foll. It may be added (3) that the ancestors being defunct, it is more natural that the poet should say that this 'was' rather than 'is' an offence in their eyes.

ad, 'with', 'in the view of', 'in the case of'. Caes. B. Civ. III. 60. 2 'haec res illis offensionem et contemptionem ad omnes attulit'. B. G. III. 9. 3 'quod nomen ad omnes nationes sanctum inviolatumque fuisset'. Liv. I. 3. 8 'celebre ad posteros'. 26. 5 'ingrati ad vulgus iudicii'. XXXVI. 8. 5 'odium ingens ad Philippum'. In Tac. Germ. 20 'sororum filiis idem apud avunculum qui ad (so E) patrem honor' it is joined with 'apud', which has the same meaning, for variety.

non leve crimen: gambling, as a seductive ('alea blanda' P. I. 5. 46) path to ruin ('damnosa alea' Iuv. 14. 4; 'praeceps alea' Hor. Ep. I. 18. 21. Ov. A. A. I. 451 'sic, ne perdiderit, non cessat perdere lusor, et revocat cupidas alea saepe manus), was considered disreputable (Iuv. 11. 176 'alea turpis'. Cic. Cat. II. 23 'in his gregibus omnes aleatores, omnes adulteri, omnes impuri impudicique versantur'). It was consequently forbidden by laws, such as the Lex Titia, Publicia, and Cornelia. Dict. A. I. 97. Hor. Carm. III. 24. 58 'vetita legibus alea'. A law against gambling is mentioned by Plaut. Mil. 164 'atque adeo ut ne legi fraudem faciant aleariae, adcuratote ut sine talis domi agitent convivium'. Those convicted were punished by a fine of four times the amount staked and 'infamia', Schol. Cic. in Caecil. 24. Cicero mentions a conviction under this law, Phil. II. 56 'Licinium Lenticulam de alea condemnatum, conlusorem suum, restituit'. A 'senatus consultum', forbidding play for money stakes, is mentioned,

Dig. XI. 5. 2. Games of chance were, however, allowed at the Saturnalia (Mart. IV. 14. 7. V. 84. XI. 6. 1. XIV. 1. 3. Suet. Aug. 71. Gell. N. A. XVIII. 13. 1) and were held legitimate for old men (Cic. Sen. 58). Under the empire the legal ban sank into disuse, and gambling was prevalent (Iuv. 1. 88–90) even among emperors (Suet. Aug. 70, 71. Calig. 41. Claud. 33. Dom. 21).

473–82. With the list of games here given should be compared the fuller list in A. A. III. 353-66.

parva monere pudet, talorum dicere iactus 353
ut sciat et vires, tessera missa, tuas:
et modo tres iactet numeros, modo cogitet, apte 355
quam subeat partem callida, quamque vocet.
cautaque non stulte latronum proelia ludat,
unus cum gemino calculus hoste perit,
bellatorque sua prensus sine conpare bellat,
aemulus et coeptum saepe recurrit iter; 360
reticuloque pilae leves fundantur aperto,
nec, nisi quam tolles, ulla movenda pila est;
est genus in totidem tenui ratione redactum
scriptula, quot menses lubricus annus habet;
parva tabella capit ternos utrimque lapillos, 365
in qua vicisse est continuasse suos.

The games enumerated in the two parallel passages are:

1. **tali**: T. II. 473–4. A. A. III. 353.
2. **tesserae**: T. II. 475–6. A. A. III. 354–6.
3. **ludus latrunculorum**: T. II. 477–80. A. A. III. 357–60.
4. **terni lapilli**: T. II. 481–2. A. A. III. 365–6.

Before the last in the list in the Ars Amatoria are inserted two other games, omitted in the Tristia, a kind of game of spillikins played with balls (361–2) and the duodecim scripta (backgammon) (363–4).

473–4. **tali** (ἀστράγαλοι) 'knuckle-bones' were the pastern bones of the hind leg of cloven-footed animals or dice constructed in that shape. They had four long sides, which alone were marked. Of these two were broader, two narrower, marked respectively 3, 4, 1, 6. As each player played with four dice, these numbers admitted of thirty-five different combinations, of which the lowest was four aces, the worst throw, which probably scored nothing, called 'volturii quattuor' (Plaut. Curc. 357), more usually as here **canes**, A. A. II. 206 'damnosi facito stent tibi saepe canes'. Prop. IV. 8. 45 'me quoque per talos Venerem quaerente secundos semper damnosi subsiluere canes'. Pers. 3. 49 'damnosa canicula'; the best throw, the highest in value was the 'iactus Venerius', Plaut. As. 905, Cic. Div. II. 48, Hor. Carm. II. 7. 25, Suet. Aug. 71, Prop. loc. cit., when all the numbers were different, 1, 3, 4, 6, with a total of 14, Mart. XIV. 14. Lucian, Am. 16. The value of a throw (**quid valeant tali**) depended not on the number of the figures but on their combinations, and was fixed by conventional rules, which were the subject of the work here alluded to by Ovid, and were probably discussed by Suetonius in his lost work on Roman games, περὶ τῶν παρ' Ἕλλησι παιδιῶν, as the title is given in Greek by Suidas v. Τράγκυλλος. Reifferscheid, Suet. reliquiae, pp. 322–8 and 462. Schanz, III. 57.

473. **figere**, 'secure'. Iuv. 9. 139 'quando ego figam aliquid, quo sit mihi tuta senectus a tegete et baculo?' The metaphor taken from spearing game (A. A. II. 190) is helped out by **iactu**, which may be used

of 'hurling' a javelin, Verg. Aen. XI. 608. Némethy accepts the conjecture of Merula and Naugerius **vincere** 'to make the highest winnings', comparing Suet. Aug. 71 'vicissem vel quinquaginta milia'.

475–6. **tesserae** (*κύβοι*) were dice similar to ours, numbered (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6) on all six sides. The highest throw was three sixes (*τρὶς ἓξ* Aesch. Ag. 33), since three 'tesserae' were employed in playing, Isidor. Etym. XVIII. 64 'tribus tesseris ludere perhibent propter tria saeculi tempora: praesentia, praeterita, et futura' (probably on account of the mystical value attached to the number three: see Goudy, Trichotomy in Roman Law, p. 8 foll.). As with the 'tali' a large number of combinations was possible, of which the values were fixed by definite rules; hence **tessera quos habeat numeros** probably means 'how many are the numerical combinations possible in the game of "tesserae"', not merely 'how many numbers are marked on each tessera'.

The game 'tessera' might be played as a simple game of chance, the object being to throw the highest numbers. This was called in Greek *πλειστοβολίνδα*. Each player, according to agreement, staked a coin of low or high value to be paid for each pip on the dice, the loser paying the number of coins corresponding to the total by which his score was less than his opponent's, Pollux IX. 95 *τῷ τρυπήματι δὲ τούτῳ, ὃν κύβον παρωνομάσθαι φαμέν, ἀργυρίου τινὰ ἀριθμὸν ἐπιφημίσαντες καθ' ἑκάστην μονάδα διῃρημένην, δραχμὴν ἢ στατῆρα ἢ μνᾶν ἢ ὁποσονοῦν, ἔπαιζον τὴν πλειστοβολίνδα καλουμένην παιδιάν.* 'Tali' were played thus also, Suet. Aug. 71 'inter cenam lusimus geronticos et heri et hodie; talis enim iactatis, ut quisque canem aut senionem miserat, in singulos talos singulos denarios in medium conferebat, quos tollebat universos, qui Venerem iecerat'.

'Tesserae' were also used for other more complicated games of mixed chance and skill, played with pieces on a board, the moves being determined by the throws of the dice. Such was the 'duodecim scripta' (*πεντέγραμμα*) here not mentioned, but referred to in A. A. III. 363–4, Cic. de Or. I. 217; and other varieties, of which our knowledge is obscure (Daremberg and Saglio, v. tessera, p. 127 b), to which possibly belong the 'tesserae lusoriae' of ivory marked from I up to LX. Hülsen, Röm. Mitt. 1896, p. 227; Sandys, Latin Epigraphy, p. 144. Such also was, what Ovid here has in view, a game resembling our backgammon (*κυβεία*), mentioned with *πεντέγραμμα*, Soph. fr. 429 P. *καὶ πεσσὰ πεντέγραμμα καὶ κύβων βολαί*, which was a game of skill played with dice. Hesych. 2010, 22 *διαφέρει δὲ πεττεία κυβείας. ἐν ᾗ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς κύβους ἀναρρίπτουσιν· ἐν δὲ τῇ πεττείᾳ αὐτὸ μόνον τὰς ψήφους μετακινοῦσι.*

The difficulty of this couplet arises from the use of words taken from the technical vocabulary of gaming, **numeros, distante vocato, mittere, dare.** There is no doubt that **mittere** means 'to throw' the dice, **dare** 'to place' the pieces on the board according to the throw of the dice. I reserve **numeros** and **distante vocato** till the two directly parallel passages have been considered. A. A. II. 203–6:

> seu ludet, numerosque manu iactabit eburnos,
> tu male iactato, tu male iacta dato;
> seu iacies talos, victam ne poena sequatur,
> damnosi facito stent tibi saepe canes.

The first couplet refers to 'tesserae', the second to 'tali'. By **numeros** here and in III. 355 is meant the dice on which numbers

were inscribed. It is not necessary with Brandt to suppose that 'manu' implies that in the case contemplated the dice were cast by the bare hand, instead of from a dice-box (fritillus), which was used to prevent fraud. The dice could be manipulated with knack, Isidor. Etym. XVIII. 66 'iactus tesserarum ita a peritis aleatoribus conponitur, ut adferat quod voluerit, ut puta senionem, qui eis in iactu bonum adfert'. Nor is the game of πλειστοβολίνδα, as Brandt thinks, but that of backgammon in question, as is shown by the word 'dato'. 'If she plays (says Ovid) and throws the ivory dice with her hand, do you throw badly, and badly place the throws', viz. make bad moves following the throws of the dice.

A. A. III. 355–6

> et modo tres iactet numeros, modo cogitet, apte
> quam subeat partem callida, quamque vocet.

Here again **numeros** means the dice. The rest is obscure. Brandt supposes a game in which there were sides consisting of several persons, 'quam subeat partem', meaning 'which side she shall join', 'quamque vocet', 'which she shall challenge, oppose'. He understands 'vocet' as a military metaphor, comparing Tac. Hist. IV. 80 'vocare offensas', 'to challenge offence'. So Ann. VI. 34 'vocare ad pugnam'. Germ. 14 'vocare hostem'. Ov. Am. III. 4. 26 'ipsaque furem cura vocat'. The theory of a game between two opposing sides lacks support. Therefore I dismiss it. But the explanation of 'vocare' seems sound; and sheds light on the meaning of **distante vocato.** I understand 'vocet', 'shall attack', and translate: 'and now let her throw the three dice, now reflect which part of the board she shall with cunning rightly enter (place a piece upon) and which attack' (by blocking or taking the opponent's piece).

If these conclusions are right it would appear that in this couplet of the Tristia **numeros** means the dice used in the game of **tessera** (though it might mean the numbers on each of the 'tesserae', cp. Baehrens, P. L. M. IV. 407. Anth. L. 487, 3 'sed male dum numeros contraria tessera mittit') and **vocato** means 'having been attacked'. By **distante** (cp. a gloss in C. G. L. II. 252 ἀφεστηκὸς distans) I understand a piece on the backgammon board which is separated from the rest, which we call a blot, in Greek ἄζυξ Anth. P. IX. 482, 26. Dict. A. i. 695. This is 'attacked' (**vocato**). The meaning is 'What are the dice (or "values of the dice") in the game of "tessera" (as distinguished from the "tali"), how when a blot has been attacked one should throw the dice and place the throws', viz. place the pieces in accordance with the throws. Ovid alludes to the skill by which a player may make the best of an unfortunate situation in the game. Soph. fr. 947 P. στέργειν δὲ τἀκπεσόντα καὶ θέσθαι πρέπει σοφὸν κυβευτήν, ἀλλὰ μὴ στένειν τύχην. Ter. Ad. 739 'in vitast hominum quasi quom ludas tesseris: si illud quod maxime opus est iactu non cadit, illud quod cecidit forte, id arte ut corrigas'.

Némethy says despairingly 'hunc locum explicare huc usque nulli contigit'. Of the various improbable solutions proposed I mention only that of Becq de Fouquières, Les Jeux des Anciens, p. 371, who explains **distante vocato** of the player who in his excitement calculates aloud the distance between his own and his opponent's position in the game before throwing the dice or moving a piece. 'Ce qu'il a en vue, c'est justement le travail de l'esprit, qui, chez tout joueur de tric-trac, doit précéder l'action de toucher une dame et

même de jeter les dés, travail qui, souvent se fait à haute voix, quand un joueur, le cornet à la main, tout en agitant ses dés, envisage la position de la partie etc.' He translates **distante vocato** rather loosely 'le jeu à faire étant appelé'.

476. **mittere**: to throw the dice. Prop. II. 33. 26 'an nondum est talos mittere lassa manus?' Senec. Apoc. 14 'quotiens missurus erat resonante fritillo . . . cumque recollectos auderet mittere talos'. Mart. XIV. 16. 1 'quae scit compositos manus improba mittere talos'.

dare: to place or move the pieces on the board. A. A. II. 204 'tu male iacta dato'. Cic. Hortens. in Non. 170 M. 'itaque tibi concedo, quod in duodecim scriptis solemus, ut calculum redducas, si te alicuius dati paenitet'. Quintil. Inst. XI. 2. 38 'Scaevola in lusu duodecim scriptorum, cum prior calculum promovisset essetque victus, dum rus tendit, repetito totius certaminis ordine, quo dato errasset recordatus, rediit'. See Becq de Fouquières, Les Jeux des Anciens, p. 370.

477–80. The game 'latrunculi' here referred to, described at some length in Laus Pisonis (Baehrens, P. L. M. I. 233) 190–208, was a sort of draughts, played on a board divided into squares, 'abaci', Macrob. Sat. I. 5. 11. Martial speaks of a 'tabula lusoria' marked on one side for dicing (tesserae), on the other for 'latrunculi', XIV. 17 'hac mihi bis seno numeratur tessera puncto; calculus hac gemino discolor hoste perit'. The pieces 'calculi', *πεσσοί*, *ψῆφοι*, *λίθοι* Plin. Ep. I. 20. 15 (**calculus** 478, A. A. III. 358. Iuv. 11. 132) were called 'latrunculi', Varro, Ling. Lat. X. 22. Sen. Dial. IX. 14. 7. Ep. 106. 11. Plin. N. H. VIII. 215, or 'latrones' (A. A. III. 357. Mart. VII. 72. 8. XIV. 20. 1), which word signifies soldiers who serve for hire (*λάτρον*), mercenaries, Varro, L. L. VII. 52 'latrones qui conducebantur: ea enim merces Graece dicitur *λάτρον*'. Festus, p. 118 Müller. Thus a piece is called **miles** 477, A. A. II. 208, and 'bellator' A. A. III. 359, since the game was a mimic battle between two opposing sides. The pieces of the opponents were distinguished by different colours, **discolor** 477, Laus. Pis. 194. Mart. XIV. 17. 2. The object of the player was to take the pieces of the opponent, which was done if a piece was caught between two of the opposite colour, so as to be unable to get out **medius gemino calculus hoste perit** 478. A. A. II. 208 'fac pereat vitreo miles ab hoste tuus'. III. 358 'unus cum gemino calculus hoste perit'. Pollux IX. 98 *ἡ τέχνη τῆς παιδιᾶς ἐστὶ περιλήψει δύο ψήφων ὁμοχρόων τὴν ἑτερόχρων ἀνελεῖν*. Laus. Pis. 194 'ut niveus nigros, nunc et niger alliget albos'. By skilful play a piece so caught could be released. Laus. Pis. 201 'similisque ligato obligat ipse duos'. Sen. Ep. 117. 30 'tabulam latruncularium prospicit, ut sciat quomodo alligatus exeat calculus'.

To guard against being taken, care was employed in moving a piece that it should be protected by an adjacent piece of the same colour. The meaning of 479–80 is that a piece advancing (**sequens**) taking the offensive attacks the enemy (**bellare**), and rescues a piece that has been moved too far forward by enabling it to move back (**revocare priorem**), or moves back safely (**tuto fugiens**) in retreat, being supported by a fellow piece (**nec incomitatus**). **sequens** means following up the enemy, i.e. advancing. Thus the gladiator who fights against the 'retiarius' is called 'secutor', 'the pursuer, attacker'. Isidor. Etym. XVIII. 55 'secutor ab insequendo retiarium dictus'.

Thus I explain this passage, which has been variously interpreted: and in pretty much the same way I interpret the still more difficult passage, which is clearly parallel to this, A. A. III. 359-60.

> bellatorque sua prensus sine compare bellat,
> aemulus et coeptum saepe recurrit iter.

Here an advanced attacking piece (**bellator**) caught by the opposing pieces and separated from its fellow takes the offensive (**bellat**) and, having been joined by its supporting piece, in joint effort (**aemulus** emulating the efforts of its **compar**) often retires successfully from an advance it has begun (**recurrit**). The **prior** of T. II corresponds to the **bellator** of A. A.: the successful backward movement is described in T. II by **tuto fugiens**, in A. A. by **saepe recurrit iter**. Némethy understands **fugiens** as the 'calculus' which the **sequens** (calculus) wishes to capture.

477. **grassetur**: moves frequently. A. A. III. 441 'sunt qui mendaci specie grassentur amoris'. Plaut. Rud. 251 'sicine hic cum uvida veste grassabimur?' Auson. Ep. 15. 50 (p. 252 Peiper) 'grassetur Gnidiae sulcus harundinis'.

recto limite, 'in a straight course', viz. moving straight from square to square, not obliquely as with the knight's move in our chess. The meaning 'in a straight course' is supported by M. VII. 782 'nec limite callida recto in spatiumque fugit'. Stat. Theb. II. 61 'recto decedit limite caeli'. V. 736 'recto descendunt limite Parcae'. It can hardly mean 'in the right course', as Vogel suggests, taking **ut grassetur** as indirect question depending on **sunt aliis scriptae** 471, and **ut sciat . . . eat** as consecutive subjunctives depending on **recto limite**. 'Others have described what are the right moves of the pieces of the two sides, so that e. g. a piece coming behind may understand how to engage in the combat and may enable one that has moved forward to retreat, and then itself, if it wishes to retreat safely, may move protected.' It is unlikely that whereas 'ut' in 477 and 481 means 'how' it should signify 'so that' in 479.

479. **bellare** is the conjecture of Vogel, made independently by Goldbacher, for the unintelligible **mage** (**mare** L, **male** GV) **velle** of the MSS., which is objectionable on account of the archaism 'mage', i. q. 'magis', unknown to Ovid, though found in Propertius I. 11. 9, &c. A technical word appropriate to the game of 'soldiers' is wanted. So A. A. III. 359 'bellatorque sua prensus sine compare bellat'. Laus. Pis. 193 'vitreo peraguntur milite bella'. Mart. XIV. 20. 1 'insidiosorum si ludis bella latronum gemmeus iste tibi miles et hostis erit'.

Other conjectures are (1) **ut par velle sequi sciat** Ellis, Hermath. XVI. 196, taking **par** as 'compar', and **velle sequi** as a technical phrase, 'volo sequi' 'I follow'.

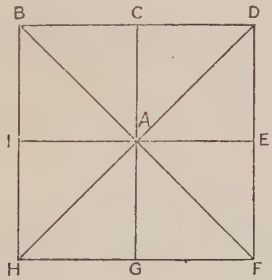
(2) **ut vallare sequens sciat**, a reviewer in the Athenaeum, 1890, p. 183, taking **vallare** as 'to protect as with a rampart'. A piece is to go out and support another piece endangered by the enemy and bring it back again. Both these interpretations lack support.

In any case **sequens** (not **sequi**) must be accepted as corresponding to **fugiens**. In the hexameter the advance against the enemy, in the pentameter the retreat before the enemy is spoken of. So **revocare priorem** means 'to move back a piece, pushed too far forward', corresponding to **nec incomitatus eat** 'in retiring to leave no piece uncovered'.

480. **nec**. The usage by which the negative involved in 'nec'

attaches to one particular word is frequent in Ovid. So M. I. 110 'nec renovatus ager' = 'et non renovatus ager'. VIII. 562 'nec levibus atria tophis structa' = 'et non levibus'. XV. 15 'nec inhospita tecta' = 'et non inhospita'. Heinsius, with the Gothanus and a few other MSS., introduced **ne** for **nec**. But the clause is not final but an indirect question continuing **ut . . . sciat.** Thus **nec** = et non, 'et ut tuto fugiens non incomitatus eat', i. e. 'non non comitatus calculo'. **Nec** is thus employed to connect a subjunctive clause depending on an already expressed conjunction, V. 4. 34 'cumque alii fugerent subitae contagia cladis, nec (= et cum non) vellent ictae limen adire domus'. 9. 18 'cumque perhorruerit . . . nec (= et cum non) dederit nanti per freta saeva manum'.

481–2. The game here alluded to is similarly described A. A. III. 365 'parva tabella capit ternos utrimque lapillos, in qua vicisse est continuasse suos'. It is analogous to the Greek game πεντέγραμμα, Pollux IX. 97, Soph. fr. 429 Pearson, Theocr. 6. 18, which was played on a table marked with five lines bisected in the middle by a sixth, each player having five pieces. In the Roman game each player had three pieces, consequently it cannot be identical with the game 'duodecim scripta', in which each player had fifteen pieces. It is rather a game resembling our 'gobang' and the Irish 'Top-Castle', with which it is compared by J. Carey in Gomme's Gentleman's Magazine Library, 1883, p. 256 foll. This game is played on a board marked with eight lines, as in the subjoined figure.



Each player has three pieces, which are placed in turn on any of the nine points marked by letters. The pieces are then moved till one player contrives to bring his three pieces (**continuasse suos**) into a line running through the central point, e. g. BAF.

481. **sit ut ternis,** Ehwald's correction for **sed uternis** L, restores to the passage **ut** corresponding to **ut** 477, 479, which is lost if, with many editors **parva sedet ternis,** the reading of the second-class manuscripts be adopted. Then **sedet** means 'is placed', Iuv. 1. 95 'nunc sportula primo limine parva sedet'. 2. 120 'ingens cena sedet'.

ternis: distributive, three to each side.

lapillis, 'pieces'. So λίθος Theocr. 6. 18, ψῆφος Plat. Rep. 487 C. Goldbacher, with the Rome edition of 1471, reading **sed ut ternis,** which is practically identical with L, and putting a colon at **solent**

regards the whole passage **parva . . . mero** (481–90) as one period, in which the protasis and apodosis are contrasted with one another by the conjunction **sed**. In the protasis (481–4) are mentioned only games which waste our time; while the apodosis (485 foll.), introduced by **ecce**, relates to games and occupations which have a useful purpose, games of skill, which promote health, ball games, &c. (485–6), preservatives of beauty, cosmetics (487), arts which conduce to the enjoyment of life, entertaining and its adjuncts (488–90). He paraphrases: 'sed, ut parva tabella ternis lapillis instructa quique praeterea sunt lusus perdere tempora nostra solent, ita alii scriptores utiles res docent velut formas iactusque pilarum, nandi artem atque trochi' &c. This subtle analysis is I think faulty because it makes Ovid say that while the game with marbles and other such games waste our time, there are other useful games and occupations that have been described by writers. But what the context requires is that while useless games, that waste time, have been described by writers, so have also useful games, &c. been described by them.

483. **quique alii lusus**, i. e. 'aliique lusus, qui perdere tempora solent, scripti sunt', the perfect is understood from 471 **sunt aliis scriptae.**

Among the games here omitted by Ovid are the two mentioned in A. A. III. 361–4, a sort of spillikins played with balls in a net, and the game of 'twelve lines' duodecim scripta (or 'scriptula' as Ovid calls it), which was played on a board marked with twelve lines, bisected by a line in the middle, so as to give twenty-four positions. Each player had fifteen pieces (Baehrens, P. L. M. IV. 198, 57, 'triginta magnos adversosque orbibus orbes'), the moves of which on the board were determined by the throws of the dice, each player using three dice (P. L. M. ibid. 55 'terna tibi haec primum fundo volvuntur in imo'). Lucil. 457 ed. Marx, Cic. de Or. I. 217. Quintil. Inst. XI. 2. 38. P. L. M. IV. 372 and 373. The game seems to have resembled our backgammon, as did a similar Greek game described by Agathias, Anth. P. IX. 482, of which an elucidation was proposed by H. Jackson, Journ. Phil. VII. 240.

To these should be added a similar game played on a board, divided in the middle, which on each side of the dividing line contained eighteen squares in three rows. The players started from opposite sides, and played with three pieces, whose moves were regulated by the throws of the dice, three for each player. This seems to be the game alluded to by Isidor. Etym. XVIII. 64 'tribus tesseris ludere perhibent, propter tria saeculi tempora, praesentia praeterita et futura, quia non stant, sed decurrunt. sed et ipsas vias senariis locis distinctas propter aetates hominum ternariis lineis propter tempora argumentantur. inde et tabulam ternis discriptam dicunt lineis'. The game has been investigated in the light of a number of inscriptions by Max Ihm in Kekulé, Bonner Studien, p. 223 foll. He remarks that each inscription consists of six words of six letters each, thus: TVRDVS · STVPET · MERALA (sic) · CANTAT · AVCEPS · CAPTAT: cp. Hor. A. P. 458 'merulis intentus auceps'. Plin. N. H. X. 80 'merula canit aestate'. A comparison with the twelve 'monosticha duodecim sapientum de ratione tabulae', P. L. M. IV. 132, p. 119, maxims addressed to the player warning him not to be too eager to win or cheat or lose his temper and so forth, shows that these lines also consist each of six words of six letters each. Ihm

concludes that the lines (the monosticha) and the inscriptions alike were designed to be inscribed on a 'tabula lusoria' used for this game, each of the six letters representing a position or square. The arrangement of the board would be as follows: the first figure gives it without, the second with a line inscribed on it, the first line of the monosticha.

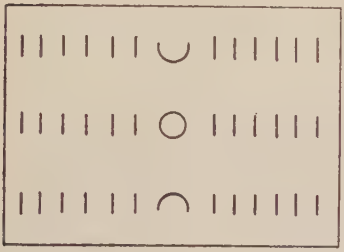


FIG. 1.

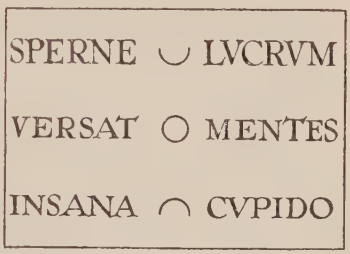


FIG. 2.

To these might have been added the various games played with the simpler walnuts (nuces), or marbles, described in the pseudo-Ovidian Nux elegia. (1) Pyramids, played with one nut placed on three, so as to form a pyramid. The object was to knock the nuts out, as in our marbles. Nux 73–6. (2) A variation on this, in which the missile was rolled down a sloping board. Nux 77–8. (3) 'Par impar', the nuts being held covered by the hand of one player, while the other guessed whether the number was 'even or odd'. Nux 79–80. Hor. S. II. 3. 248. Pollux IX. 101. (4) Shooting the nuts into a triangle marked with chalk with transverse bars. The winner gained as many nuts as lay within the triangle touching the bars. Nux 81–4. Pollux IX. 102.

Augustus played with children, using 'nuces' and 'ocellati' which were probably marbles of variegated stone. Suet. Aug. 83 'animi laxandi causa modo talis aut ocellatis nucibusque ludebat cum pueris minutis'.

A list of various Greek juvenile games is given by Pollux IX. 107 foll., such as *ὀρτυγοκοπία* 'quail-flicking', cp. Ar. Av. 1298; *βασιλίνδα* 'choosing a king', Hdt. I. 114; *χαλκισμός* 'spinning a coin'. The top, *βέμβιξ*, Callimach. Epigr. 1. 9, 'turbo', Pers. 3, 51 is dignified by being introduced as a simile by Verg. Aen. VII. 378. Tibull. I. 5. 3.

484. **tempora**: plural equivalent to singular. So with this phrase. A. A. I. 504 'arbitrio dominae tempora perde tuae'. F. I. 143 'ne flexu cervicis tempora perdam'. M. XI. 286 'ne tempora perde precando'. Also in other connexions. V. 13. 27 'consumere longa loquendo tempora'. III. 12. 4 'tempora nocturnis aequa diurna facit'. F. III. 878. P. II. 5. 74 'vitae tempora summa'. M. I. 724 'tempora irae'. IV. 695 'lacrimarum longa tempora'. Cic. Fam. VII. 1. 1 'matutina tempora'. Cp. Hor. Ep. II. 1. 4 'si longo sermone morer tua tempora, Caesar', a concise expression blending the two ideas 'te morer' and 'tua tempora absumam'.

485–90. From gambling, which may be regarded as morally reprehensible, Ovid passes to innocent occupations whose art has become

the subject of didactic verse, games with ball, swimming, and exercise with the hoop, all which promote physical health, the toilette, rules for entertainment, and, as a corollary, the potter's art, which contrives cups for drinking wine.

485–6. Games with ball, swimming and hoop-playing as a regular part of the athletic exercises of the Roman are thus joined, A. A. III. 383 'sunt illis celeresque pilae iaculumque trochique armaque et in gyros ire coactus equus; nec vos Campus habet nec vos gelidissima Virgo nec Tuscus placida devehit amnis aqua'. T. III. 12. 20 'nunc pila, nunc celeri volvitur orbe trochus; nunc, ubi perfusa est oleo labente iuventus, defessos artus Virgine tingit aqua'. Horace mentions swimming, Carm. I. 8. 8 'cur timet flavum Tiberim tangere?' the ball and hoop, A. P. 380 'indoctusque pilae discive trochive quiescit'.

485. **pilarum**: games of ball were a popular exercise with Romans, not only the young but even the old; thus Spurinna played ball as a means of preserving his health in old age, Plin. Ep. III. 1. 8 'deinde movetur pila vehementer et diu': thus the emperor Augustus, Suet. Aug. 83 'exercitationes campestres equorum et armorum statim post civilia bella omisit et ad pilam folliculumque transiit'. Three kinds of balls are mentioned, the 'pila' a hard ball, the 'follis' or 'folliculus', an inflated skin ball, and the 'paganica', a ball stuffed with feathers, Mart. VII. 32. 7. The games were played in a court, 'sphaeristerium', Plin. Ep. II. 17. 11; V. 6. 27, and consisted either in catching the ball or making it rebound against a wall. The most popular was a game called 'trigon', in which three players stood at the angles of a triangle and threw the balls to one another; a marker 'pilicrepus' marked the points scored. Sen. Ep. 56. 1 'pilicrepus supervenit et numerare coepit pilas'. Cicero speaks of the skill required in these games, de Or. I. 73; Horace, Sat. II. 2. 11, and Seneca, Dial. X. 13. 1 of their popularity. Pollux IX. 104 gives a list of the technical terms used.

Athenaeus I. 15 a, after quoting passages from the comic poets Antiphanes and Damoxenus describing ball games, states that a Lacedaemonian Timocrates wrote on the art of ball-playing. I. 15 c *συνέγραψε δὲ περὶ σφαιριστικῆς Τιμοκράτης ὁ Λάκων.*

To what Latin authors Ovid alludes is unknown. Isidore, Etym. XVIII. 69, who explains 'pila quod sit pilis plena', quotes two hexameters about balls from a didactic poem by Dorcatius, 'neu tu parce pilos vivacis condere cervi, uncia donec erit geminam super addita libram'. Baehrens, F. P. L., p. 357. Haupt, Opusc. III. 571, considered that this is an extract from the poem referred to by Ovid here. Schanz, II. 366, doubts this, without giving any reason why. Ellis (Hermathena VII. 196 and Noctes Manilianae, p. 169) suggested that the allusion is to the Fifth Book of Manilius, whom he considered to be the authority intended in both **iactus pilarum** and **artem nandi** (486). Manilius discusses balls V. 165–74, and swimming 420–31. This ingenious suggestion cannot be accepted, because Ovid clearly has in view special didactic poems on these subjects, not passages of inconsiderable length in a poem on a different subject. Also the date of the Astronomica of Manilius, now pretty definitely known through the careful exploration of Mr. Garrod and Mr. Van Wageningen, makes it impossible. Their researches have shown that Books I–II of the Astronomica were composed between A. D. 9 and 14, while Book IV evidently belongs to the reign of Tiberius, who is referred to as reigning emperor in IV 764–5. Book IV appears to have been completed

about A. D. 15. Book V must have been written a little later; but it is unfinished, and, lacking the author's final touches, presents no marks of time. Wageningen, Commentarius in Manil. Astronomica, pp. 12–13. Garrod, Manil. Astron. II, pp. lxi–lxiv. Therefore Tristia II, completed in the winter of A. D. 9–10, is anterior to Manilius, whose reminiscences of the Tristia quoted 319 n. indicate that he knew the Tristia as a published work, and that Ovid owed nothing to him. It might perhaps be supposed that Ovid had attended some early recitations of the Astronomica when in course of composition, at which these passages arrested his attention: but this is unlikely.

486. **nandi**: swimming was much practised (Sen. Dial. X. 12. 6), either in the Tiber, Cic. Cael. 36, Hor. Carm. I. 8. 8, or in swimming-baths attached to the baths both public and private. Plin. Ep. II. 17. 11 'cohaeret calida piscina mirifica, ex qua natantes mare adspiciunt'. V. 6. 25 'si natare latius aut tepidius velis, in area piscina est'. The Thermae of Agrippa were supplied by the Aqua Virgo, mentioned A. A. III. 385. T. III. 12. 22. P. I. 8. 38. Middleton, Remains of Ancient Rome, II. 342. Statius, Silv. I. 5 has a poem on the Balneum Claudii Etrusci. There are five short poems on the Thermae built by the Vandal king Thrasamund (A. D. 496–523) by Flavius Felix, P. L. M. IV. 389–93. Ovid may refer to a description of swimming in some poem on Baths, or to a lost didactic poem on the subject.

Since the ball and hoop were of Greek origin while swimming was an essentially Roman manly exercise, Burman, supposing that like Horace (Sat. II. 2. 10 'si Romana fatigat militia assuetum graecari') Ovid disparages the physical exercises derived from Greece which he mentions, proposed to accept **disci**, the reading of the Frankfurt MS., in place of **nandi**, as the Greek quoit was in fashion at Rome, Hor. Carm. I. 8. 11, A. P. 380; Ibis 585, or to read **saltandi hic artem**, his own conjecture. But this conjecture violates Ovid's practice as to arrangement of words, Hilberg, Die Gesetze d. Wortstellung, p. 629: and there is nothing to show that Ovid's purpose is to disparage Greek exercises, which he merely mentions as subjects of didactic verse.

trochi: bowling the hoop, which was propelled by a crooked handle, formed part of the exercises of the palaestra. Prop. III. 14. 1. 'multa tuae, Sparte, miramur iura palaestrae . . . cum pila veloces fallit per brachia iactus, increpat et versi clavis adunca trochi'. A. A. III. 383 'celeresque pilae iaculumque trochique'. T. III. 12. 20 'nunc celeri volvitur orbe trochus'. Hor. Carm. III. 24. 57 'ludere seu Graeco iubeas trocho'. A. P. 380. As this exercise was not excessive it was recommended as hygienic by Greek physicians. Oribasius, physician to the emperor Julian, considers that the little rings with which the hoop was fitted are not superfluous, since by their noise they cause a pleasant distraction. Becq de Fouquières, p. 163.

487. **fucandi**, the word which means to dye with an artificial colour (Verg. G. II. 465. Nemesian. Cyneg. 309), is here used of painting the complexion. Cp. Tibull. I. 8. 11 'quid (prodest) fuco splendente genas ornare?' Prop. II. 18. 31 'an si caeruleo quaedam sua tempora fuco tinxerit, idcirco caerula forma bona est?'

The only poem known to us on cosmetics for improving the female complexion is Ovid's De medicamine faciei, edited by Kunz (1881) who has established its Ovidian authorship.

488. **epulis**: the Hedyphagetica of Ennius, a poem on the principles of gastronomy, was an adaptation of a Greek poem on the art of

cookery by the Sicilian Archestratus, cited by Athenaeus as Γαστρονομία (4 e 335 d) or Γαστρολογία (104 b 278 a), by others as Ἡδυπάθεια, Δειπνολογία and Ὀψοποιία (4 e). Before him Terpsion had written a poem on the same subject, which Athenaeus says was the first Γαστρολογία (337 b). A fragment of eleven hexameters from the Hedyphagetica of Ennius is quoted by Apuleius, Apol. 39. These seem to be loosely adapted from Archestratus as preserved by Athenaeus 92 d, 300 e, 318 f, 320 a. Vahlen, Enn. poes. reliquiae, p. 218. The names of several writers of cookery books, Ὀψαρτυτικά, are preserved by Athenaeus 516 c, Glaucus the Locrian, Mithaecus, Dionysius, the two Heracleidae of Syracuse, Agis, Epaenetus, Hegesippus, Erasistratus, Euthydemus, Crito, Stephanus, Archytas, Acesias, Diocles, Philistion. A work of Paxamus seems to have been similar, Athenae. 376 d. Kaibel, Index, p. 644. Some of these authors are mentioned by Pollux VI. 70, who adds Pantoleon, Zopyrinus, Sophron, Tyndarichus, Simonactides. A curious poem The Art of Cooking in imitation of Horace's Art of Poetry by the author of the Journey to London, Lintott, N. D., was occasioned by the publication of Lister's edition of Apicius in 1705.

489. **fingantur**: the verb is used of the plastic arts generally, and especially of moulding in clay, Prop. III. 5. 7 'o prima infelix fingenti terra Prometheo'; Iuv. 14. 35 'meliore luto finxit praecordia Titan': so of earthenware vases, Mart. VIII. 6. 2 'ficta Saguntino cymbia malo luto'. Potter's clay, properly 'argilla', here called **humus**, is also called 'lutum' (Tibull. I. 1. 40), Greek κέραμος.

The name of no poet who wrote specially on pottery is known. It is strange that painted vases are rarely alluded to in literature, considering the number and beauty of those preserved, and the pride evinced by their artists in their signed productions. This interesting subject has been explored by Mr. J. D. Beazley in The Master of the Stroganoff vase, Annual of British School at Athens XIX. 229; and Attic Red-figured vases in American Museums, 1918.

A curious poem among the epigrams attributed to Homer, Hom. Epigr. 14, invokes Athena's protection for potters, if they be honest, destruction on their stock-in-trade if they be dishonest. Vases described in literature, Theocr. 1. 27 foll., and those in Athenaeus, Book XI, seem generally to have been of metal with chased designs. Virgil's drinking-cups are of wood, Ec. 3. 37. So Tibull. I. 10. 8. Ov. M. VIII. 669. Cups are of beech, the bowl of pottery in F. V. 522 'terra rubens crater, pocula fagus erant'. There are two undoubted literary allusions to pottery vases, Pind. Nem. 10. 35, Aristoph. Eccl. 996 (white Athenian lekythoi). Walters, History of Ancient Pottery, I. 131 foll.

490. **liquido**: M. VII. 246 'liquidi carchesia vini'.

testa: i. q. amphora. A. A. II. 695 'mihi fundat avitum consulibus priscis condita testa merum'. Hor. Carm. I. 20. 2 'Graeca testa'. III. 21. 4 'pia testa'.

491. **talia luduntur**: poems on such light subjects are composed. **Ludere** is used of the lighter forms of verse contrasted with the serious epic, tragic, and didactic poetry. Thus it means to write pastorals (Verg. Ec. 1. 10, Geor. IV. 565), lyrics (Hor. Carm. I. 32. 2), satires (Hor. Sat. I. 10. 37, cp. 4. 139), love elegies (Am. III. 1. 27, Fast. IV. 9, Trist. I. 9. 61, III. 2. 5, V. 1. 7), epigrams (Mart. VII. 12. 9). Plin. Ep. VII. 9. 9 'fas est et carmine remitti, non dico continuo et longo (id enim perfici nisi in otio non potest), sed hoc arguto et brevi, quod apte quantas libet occupationes curasque distinguit. lusus vocantur; sed hi lusus non minorem interdum gloriam quam seria consequuntur.'

fumoso mense Decembri: at the Saturnalia, in winter, when fires are lit for warmth. Mart. V. 30. 5 'sed lege fumoso non aspernanda Decembri carmina, mittuntur quae tibi mense suo'.

The Saturnalia, originally a single day xvi (xiv before Caesar's reform of the Calendar) Kal. Ian. (Dec. 17), later extended to seven days, Macrob. Sat. I. 10. 2, Warde Fowler, Roman Festivals, p. 268, the chief Roman holiday, was a season of merry-making and licence. Presents were made to the guests at Saturnalia dinners; the short epigrams of Martial, Bks. XIII–XIV, were intended to accompany such presents. Of this cheerful festival Seneca says, Ep. 18. 1 'December est mensis: cum maxime civitas sudat. ius luxuriae publicae datum est. ingenti apparatu sonant omnia, tamquam quicquam inter Saturnalia intersit et dies rerum agendarum: adeo nihil interest, ut non videatur mihi errasse, qui dixit olim mensem Decembrem fuisse, nunc annum'. Stat. Silv. I. 6. 1 'et Phoebus pater et severa Pallas et Musae procul ite feriatae: Iani vos revocabimus Kalendis. Saturnus mihi compede exsoluta, et multo gravidus mero December et ridens Iocus et sales protervi adsint, dum refero diem beatum laeti Caesaris ebriamque †parcen.' [The last word is corrupt. Read 'pubem': cp. Petron. 133 'ter ovantem circa delubrum gressum feret ebria pubes'. I take 'pubem' as the whole adult population, as Plaut. Pseud. 126.] Catullus (14) writes an epigram to Calvus in reprisal for a collection of bad verses sent at the Saturnalia. That poets wrote and sent short poems at the Saturnalia is proved by Mart. V. 30. X. 17 (at the Saturnalia) 'sollemnesque iocos nec tristia carmina'. Stat. Silv. IV. 9. Martial speaks of the Saturnalia as the season for writing light verses. XI. 6. 1 'unctis falciferi senis diebus, regnator quibus imperat fritillus, versu ludere non laborioso permittis, puto, pilleata Roma. risisti; licet ergo, non vetamur'.

492. **damno**: 338 n. Hilberg, p. 87, remarks on the order **damno nulli** designed to avoid the words being misunderstood to mean 'quae qui composuit, nullum damnum accepit'.

494. Cp. P. II. 10. 15 'Naso parum prudens, artem dum tradit amandi, doctrinae pretium triste magister habet'. Cp. line 1.

495. **nec**: not, 'also not', but i. q. ne quidem; so V. 1. 71 'ipse nec emendo'. M. I. 274 'nec caelo contenta suo est Iovis ira'. 661 'nec finire licet tantos mihi morte dolores'. IV. 153 'poteris nec morte revelli'. XI. 211, 471. XIII. 352. This use, found in early Latin, as Plaut. Most. 351 'nec Salus nobis saluti iam esse, si cupiat, potest', and in Catull. 10. 9 'nihil neque ipsis nec (= ne quidem) praetoribus esse nec cohorti', disappears in the Latin of the best period, Madvig, Cic. de Fin., p. 803, but reappears in the prose of Livy, Weissenborn-Müller on XXXI. 22. 7, and Tacitus, Draeger, Syntax u. Stil d. Tacitus, § 119, and in verse in Hor. Sat. II. 3. 262 'nec nunc, cum me vocet ultro, accedam', so the imitation of Pers. 5. 172 'nec nunc, cum accersat et ultro supplicet, accedam?' and in Propert. II. 29. 26 'non illa mihi formosior umquam visa, neque ostrina cum fuit in tunica'. Iuv. 2. 152 'nec pueri credunt'. 3. 90 'qua deterius nec ille sonat'. Schmalz, Lat. Gramm., p. 455. Kühner, II. 2. 44.

de, 'out of': 351 n. P. I. 8. 7 'deque tot expulsis sum miles in exule solus: tuta, neque invideo, cetera turba latet'. III. 9. 5 'o quam de multis vitium reprehenditur unum!'

496. **repertus ego**: i. e. ego unus repertus sum.

497. **mimos**: mimes, μιμίαμβοι, mimiambi were farces played by barefooted ('planipedes' Iuv. 8. 191) actors, wearing no stage shoes

and no masks; the female parts were played by women. The subjects of these coarse and indecent farces were taken sometimes from mythology, with the purpose of ridiculing the gods, Tertull. Apolog. 15 'dispicite Lentulorum et Hostiliorum venustates, utrum mimos an deos vestros in iocis et strophis rideatis, moechum Anubin, et masculum (sic) Lunam, Dianam flagellatam et Iovis mortui testamentum recitatum et tres Hercules famelicos irrisos', sometimes from everyday life, being in that case largely concerned with intrigues, in which the foolish husband was duped by his unfaithful wife and her lover (**adulter**). The Greek mime is preserved to us in the *μιμίαμβοι* of Herodas, of which there is an accurate appreciation by Mr. G. C. Richards in New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature, p. 112 foll. The chief Latin writers of mime were Laberius, Publilius Syrus, and Matius under the Republic, and Catullus, Iuv. 8. 186, and Vergilius Romanus, Plin. Ep. VI. 21. 4, under the Empire. Mimes were performed especially at the Floralia, April 28 to May 3, Marquardt, Staatsverwaltung, III. 502.

For the indecent jokes and gestures (**obscena iocantes**, cp. 503) which defiled the mimes see Cic. de Or. II. 242 'mimorum est et ethologorum, si nimia est imitatio, sicut obscenitas'. Macrob. Sat. II. 1. 9 'haec nobis sit litterata laetitia et docta cavillatio vicem planipedis et sabulonis inpudica et praetextata verba iacientis ad pudorem ac modestiam versus imitata'. Adultery was the main subject of the mime, infra 514 **scaenica adulteria**. Minuc. Felix 37. 12 'in scaenicis non minor furor et turpitudo prolixior: nunc enim mimus vel exponit adulteria vel monstrat, nunc enervis histrio, amorem dum fingit, infligit'. Lactant. Div. Inst. VI. 20. 30 'quid de mimis loquar corruptelarum praeferentibus disciplinam, qui docent adulteria, dum fingunt, et simulacris erudiunt ad vera? quid iuvenes aut virgines faciant, cum haec et fieri sine pudore et spectari libenter ab omnibus cernunt? admonentur utique quid facere possint et inflammantur libidine, quae aspectu maxime concitatur, ac se quisque pro sexu in illis imaginibus praefigurat probantque illa, dum rident'. Donat. on Aen. V. 65 'mimi solis inhonestis et adulteris placent; per illos enim discitur, quemadmodum illicita fiant, aut facta noscantur'. Val. Max. II. 6. 7 'mimis, quorum argumenta maiore ex parte stuprorum continent actus'.

498. **semper**. The early position of the adverb gives it emphasis, as F. IV. 250 'semper et Iliacas Mater amavit opes'. Hilberg, p. 75.

vetiti (corrupted into **uicti** in LGHPV, **uincti, iuncti** in other MSS.) gives the meaning required, that illicit love was the stock subject of the mime.

vetiti, 'forbidden by law': Hor. Carm. II. 24. 58 'vetita legibus alea'. Cic. II in Verr. II. 101 'nulla lex vetat'. Verg. Aen. VI. 623 'vetitos hymenaeos', explained by Servius 'legibus scilicet'. The participle is used of unlawful love, as (a) adultery, supr. 346 'vetitos toros' (note). P. III. 3. 57 'vetiti si lege severa credor adulterii composuisse notas'; (b) incest, A. A. I. 283 'vetito fratris amore'. M. IX. 502 'vetitus ardor'; 577 'vetitae libidinis' (all of Byblis). X. 353 'concubitu vetito' (of Myrrha).

Loers adopts **iuncti**, the reading of a few MSS., comparing inf. 536 'non legitimo foedere iunctus amor'. Tibull. I. 1. 69 'interea, dum fata sinunt, iungamus amores'. But without some such qualification as 'non legitimo foedere' the word might signify merely innocent love-making.

vetiti crimen amoris habent, 'are subject to the charge of representing illicit love'. Michaut, Sur les Tréteaux latins, p. 316, translates 'qu' on peut toujours accuser de peindre un amour défendu'.

crimen habere = noxium, reum culpae esse (Burman on A. A. III. 453) means 'to incur a charge', i. e. 'to incur guilt'. The phrase stands (a) either alone, or (b) with the subject of the charge expressed by a genitive, as here, or (c) by the preposition 'de'. The phrase is not found in Cicero (Cael. 50 and Deiot. 21 are different) and is chiefly poetical. It occurs in Quintil. Decl. 367, not in Inst. Or. XI. 3. 110 (adduced in the new Thesaurus) 'ut puta "novum crimen, C. Caesar" habet per se finem quendam suum', where 'habet' does not govern 'crimen'!

The exact translation varies with the context, as this collection of examples shows.

(a) Standing alone. Am. II. 5. 6 'nec data furtive munera crimen habent' (involve a charge, i. e. accuse you). A. A. I. 586 'tuta frequensque licet sit via, crimen habet' (involves scandal). II. 272 'a! pereant per quos munera crimen habent' (incur guilt); 634 'famaque non tacto corpore crimen habet' (reputation incurs guilt, i. e. is besmirched). Rem. 328 'in gracili macies crimen habere potest' (in the case of a slender woman her scragginess can be blamed). T. II. 265 supra (incur guilt). IV. 4. 21 'ut non debuerim, tamen hoc ego crimen habebo' (I will incur this guilt). Prop. II. 32. 2 'facti lumina crimen habent' (the eyes incur, bear the blame of the act). (Most MSS. have crimina lumen, an early Spoonerism.) Tibull. I. 6. 41 'ne possit crimen habere' (incur no charge). Iuv. 8. 140 'omne animi vitium tanto conspectius in se crimen habet, quanto maior qui peccat habetur' (incurs guilt). Lucan VIII. 118 'haec iam crimen habent' (this town is guilty). 517 'iam crimen habemus purgandum gladio' (we incur guilt).

(b) With the thing charged in the genitive, as in this passage. A. A. III. 454 'deceptae a! multi crimen amantis habent' (incur the guilt of deceiving, are guilty of deceiving their mistress). F. I. 445 '(aves) linguae crimen habetis' (you incur a charge arising from the tongue, i. e. the reproach of tale-bearing). Iuv. 13. 209 'scelus intra se tacitum qui cogitat ullum facti crimen habet' (incurs the guilt of the act).

(c) The subject of the charge expressed by the preposition 'de'. F. II. 162 'de Iove crimen habet' (she incurs a charge, i. e. is blamed on account of Jupiter). P. III. 2. 22 'utque habeant de me crimina nulla, favet' (that they may incur no charge, be blamed on my account).

499. **cultus,** 'smartly dressed', 'dandified'. A. A. III. 681 'si cultus erit speculoque placebit'. II. 175 'culta amica'. III. 51 'cultas puellas'. M. IX. 461 'visuraque fratrem culta venit'. Iuv. 3. 158 'cultos iuvenes'; 189 'cultis servis'; 11. 202 'cultae puellae'.

procedit, 'shows himself'. Cic. de Div. I. 119 'cum purpurea veste processit'. Often of a woman who 'comes out' of her house and walks abroad to show her fascinations. A. A. III. 165 'femina procedit densissima crinibus emptis'. F. IV. 309 'cultus et ornatis varie prodisse capillis obfuit'. Pseudo-Tibull. IV. 2. 11 'urit seu Tyria voluit procedere palla'. Prop. I. 2. 1 'quid iuvat ornato procedere, vita, capillo?' II. 10. 9 (of the poet himself) 'nunc volo subducto gravior procedere vultu'.

500. **verba dat . . . viro**: i. q. fallit virum, deceives (i. e. cuckolds) her husband: Am. II. 19. 50 'cum bene servasses, ut bene verba

darem'. II. 2. 58. III. 14. 29. T. V. 7. 39 'detineo studiis animum falloque dolores, experior curis et dare verba meis', where 'fallit' and 'dare verba' are identical in meaning. The expression (found also in IV. 4. 34. H. 2. 25; 16. 239; 17. 170; 21. 121. P. II. 1. 6; 7. 20) is appropriate in this context on account of its frequency in comedy, e.g. Plaut. Capt. 945. Rud. 325. Ter. And. 211. Ad. 621.

callida: 'crafty', 'in malam partem' (Forcell.), evidently qualifies **nupta**, not **verba**. Hilberg, p. 820. Plaut. Cist. 727 'mala mers, era, haec et callida est'. So Am. I. 10. 4 'callidus adulter'. A. A. III. 607 'callida ancilla'. Tibull. I. 5. 48 'callida lena'. 6. 6 'Delia callida'.

501. **hos**: sc. mimos, supplied from 497, so **quibus** 499. In my edition of 1889 I retained the reading of LGHV **hoc**, so Ehwald-Levy and Cocchia, who explains 'scil. mimos'; but the singular number is inappropriate. The archetype was clearly difficult to decipher, as the variants **hic, haec** (accepted by Loers) are also found.

virgo matronaque virque puerque: girls and married women, men and boys; a full description of the sexes. Less full are I. 3. 23 'femina virque meo, pueri quoque funere maerent'. P. IV. 9. 96 'femina virve puerve'. Sil. Ital. I. 561 'hinc puer invalidique senes, hinc femina ferre certat opem—saxaque . . . subvectat . . . miles'. Cp. Stat. Silv. I. 6. 44 (of the spectators in the amphitheatre) 'parvi, femina, plebs, eques, senatus'. Ovid's usual expression for the sexes is 'femina virque', supr. 6. A. A. II. 478, 682. III. 800. Rem. 814. M. VI. 314. Ibis 116.

Augustus set apart special places in the theatre for boys and women, for the latter in the topmost tiers. Suet. Aug. 44 'militem secrevit a populo. maritis e plebe proprios ordines assignavit, praetextatis cuneum suum, et proximum paedagogis. . . . feminis ne gladiatores quidem, quos promiscue spectari sollemne olim erat, nisi ex superiore loco spectare concessit. solis virginibus Vestalibus locum in theatro separatim et contra praetoris tribunal dedit'. Am. II. 7. 3 'sive ego marmorei respexi summa theatri'. Prop. IV. 8. 77 'colla cave inflectas ad summum obliqua theatrum'. Marquardt, Staatsv. III. 535.

502. **spectat**: 5 n.

504. On the gross indecency of the mimes see Arnob. Adv. Nat. VII. 33, p. 267, Reifferscheid, 'existimatne tractari se honorifice Flora, si suis in ludis flagitiosas conspexerit res agi et migratum ab lupanaribus in theatra? itane istud non est deorum inminuere dignitatem, dicare et consecrare turpissimas res eis, quas censor animus respuat? . . . delectantur, ut res est . . . factis et dictis turpibus, fascinorum ingentium rubore. iam vero si viderint in femineas mollitudines enervantes se viros . . . manus ad caelum tollunt . . . haec si dis immortalibus oblivionem adferunt simultatum, si ex comoediis, Atellanis, mimis ducunt laetissimas voluptates, quid moramini, quid cessatis, quin et ipsos dicatis deos ludere lascivire saltare, obscenas conpingere cantiones et clunibus fluctuare crispatis? quid enim differt aut interest, faciantne haec ipsi an ab aliis fieri in amoribus atque in deliciis ducant?' Tertull. Spect. 17 '(theatrum) est privatum consistorium impudicitiae, ubi nihil probatur, quam quod alibi non probatur. ita summa gratia eius dei spurcitia plurimum concinnata est, quam Atellanus gesticulatur, quam mimus etiam per muliebres repraesentat, sexum pudoris exterminans, ut facilius domi quam scaenae erubescant. ipsa etiam prostibula publicae libidinis hostiae in scaena proferuntur, plus miserae in

praesentia feminarum, quibus solis latebant, perque omnis aetatis, omnis dignitatis ora transducuntur, locus, stipes, elogium, etiam quibus opus non est, praedicatur, etiam, taceo de reliquis, etiam quae in tenebris et in speluncis suis delitescere decebat, ne diem contaminarent'. The appearance on the stage of naked harlots performing as mimae is attested also by Lactant. Div. Inst. I. 20. 10 'exuuntur etiam vestibus populo flagitante meretrices, quae tunc mimarum funguntur officio'. Schol. Iuv. 6. 250 'ludi Florales, in quibus meretrices nudatis corporibus per varias artes ludendi discurrunt'. The younger Cato withdrew from the theatre rather than witness this sight, Val. Max. II. 10. 8 'eodem ludos Florales spectante, populus, ut mimae nudarentur, postulare erubuit. quod cum . . . cognovisset, discessit e theatro'. Warde Fowler, Roman Festivals, p. 93. The actors wore the 'phallus', Arnob. VII. 33 (quoted above). Aug. Civ. Dei VI. 7. Schol. Iuv. 6. 66 (which refers to 6. 65, Heinrich, Juvenal, vol. i, p. 374). The shamelessness of the action is illustrated by Prudent. Peristeph. 10. 221 (which probably refers to the mime) 'Cycnus stuprator peccat inter pulpita'. Michaut, Sur les Tréteaux latins, p. 316 foll.

505. **amans**: i. q. amator, the adulterous lover. Am. I. 9. 25 'saepe maritorum somnis utuntur amantes'. I. 8. 63 'me prohibet custos, in me timet illa maritum . . . o si neglecti quisquam deus ultor amantis tam male quaesitas pulvere mutet opes'.

novitate: i. q. nova aliqua fraude. Concrete, as P. IV. 13. 23 'laudes: de Caesare dixi: adiuta est novitas (new attempt) numine nostra dei'.

506. **plauditur**: with reference to the request for applause regularly made at the end of Roman comedies. Plaut. Curc. 729 'spectatores, plaudite'. Amph. 1146 'nunc, spectatores, Iovis summi causa clare plaudite'. Capt. 1136 'qui pudicitiae esse voltis praemium, plausum date'. All the plays of Terence end with the word 'plaudite'. Hor. A. P. 155 'sessuri donec cantor "vos plaudite" dicat'.

palma. From the time of Plautus the performances of comic plays were competitive. The presiding magistrate assigned the prize to the play which the spectators by their acclamations decided to be the best. Intense interest was taken in these theatrical competitions, and in the rivalries between the leading actors of competing companies, whose claims were urged by a regularly organized claque ('factiones histrionum' Fest., p. 86, Müller; 'theatrales operae' Tac. A. I. 16) and by all sorts of irregular pressure, Plaut. Amph. 69 'sive qui ambissent palmam histrionibus sive cuiquam artifici, si per scriptas litteras sive qui ipse ambisset seu per internuntium, sive adeo aediles perfidiose cui duint, sirempse legem iussit esse Iuppiter, quasi magistratum sibi alterive ambiverit. virtute dixit vos victores vivere, non ambitione neque perfidia: qui minus eadem histrioni sit lex quae summo viro? virtute ambire oportet, non favitoribus'. The prize was a palm branch, Plaut. Trin. 706 'facile palmam habes: hic victust, vicit tua comoedia'. Ter. Phorm. 17 'in medio omnibus palmam esse positam qui artem tractant musicam'. Cic. Att. IV. 15. 6 'veni in spectaculum . . . deinde Antiphonti (an actor) operam. is erat ante manu missus quam productus. ne diutius pendeas, palmam tulit'. Ov. F. V. 189 'circus in hunc exit clamataque palma theatris'. It is most natural to interpret this last passage of the dramatic exhibitions of mimes in the theatre at the Floralia. Peter, understanding 'theatris' to mean 'the spectators' seats', wrongly refers it to the approval of the spectators at the exhibition in the circus, which followed the performance of plays in the theatre during the first days of the Floralia. Marquardt, Staatsv.

III. 502. A comic actor is represented on a gem with a palm branch beside him. See Marquardt, Staatsv. III. 541.

The success of a play depended partly on the skill of the actors and partly on the merits of the play itself, for which the poet-author was responsible. Thus there is a question whether the prize was awarded to the actor or the poet. As the didascaliae nowhere state that the poet received the prize, and the evidence on the subject is scanty, it cannot be safely assumed that the poet did receive it: Leo, Gesch. d. röm. Litteratur, I. 217. Cic. Phil. I. 36 'nisi forte Accio tum plaudi et sexagesimo post anno palmam dari, non Bruto putabitis', means merely that the demonstration of applause was meant for the long dead poet Accius, and Hor. Ep. II. 1. 180 'valeat res ludicra si me palma negata macrum, donata reducit opimum', means merely that dramatic success for an author depends on the whims of his audience. It must be concluded therefore that the prize was awarded to the leading actor of the company which performed the successful play. Plaut. Poen. 36 'quodque ad ludorum curatores attinet, ne palma detur quoiquam artifici iniuria, neve ambitionis causa extrudantur foras, quo deteriores anteponantur bonis'. When Laberius was forced by Caesar to act in a mime of his own composition in competition with Publilius Syrus, Caesar awarded the prize to Publilius as actor, not as poet. Macrob. Sat. II. 7. 8 '(Syrus) superavit omnes, in quis et Laberium. unde Caesar adridens hoc modo pronuntiavit "favente tibi me victus es, Laberi, a Syro"; statimque Publilio palmam et Laberio anulum aureum cum quingentis sestertiis dedit'. See Marquardt, Staatsv. III. 541 foll. Michaut, Sur les Tréteaux latins, p. 448 foll.

favore, 'de studio et plausu spectantium in theatro' (Forcell.), 'acclamation, partisanship'. Cic. Rosc. Com. 29 'quod studium et quem favorem secum in scaenam attulit Panurgus, quod Rosci fuit discipulus! qui diligebant hunc, illi favebant; qui admirabantur hunc, illum probabant'.

507. **quoque**, the reading of L, the Gotha MS., and a few other MSS., is preferable to **quodque** Γω as being more idiomatic. In comparative sentences with 'quo' in the protasis the corresponding 'eo' is often omitted (always by Ovid, Ehwald on M. VIII. 834), either (a) where there is a comparative in the apodosis, as III. 5. 31 'quo quisque est maior, magis est placabilis irae'. H. 4. 19 'venit amor gravius, quo serius'. M. VIII. 834 'plusque cupit, quo plura suam demittit in alvum'. Or (b) when, as here, the comparative notion is not directly expressed in the apodosis, but is understood from the context. So Liv. II. 19. 10 'ea (cohors) quo maiore pugnabat ira, pugnam parumper restituit'. XXIII. 15. 14 'quo frequentior mecum fueris, senties'. Tac. H. I. 14 'ea pars morum eius quo suspectior sollicitis, adoptanti placebat'. II. 11 'quo plus virium ac roboris, e fiducia tarditas inerat'. So with 'quanto' Iuv. 10. 13 'cuncta exsuperans patrimonia census, quanto delphinis ballaena Britannica maior'. Tac. A. I. 74 'quanto incautius efferverat, paenitentia patiens tulit'. Kühner, II. 2. 484.

prodest: i. e. mores emendat. Merkel strangely denies that this meaning is possible, but cp. Hor. A. P. 333 'aut prodesse volunt aut delectare poetae'. Sall. Iug. 85. 32 'parum placebat eas (sc. litteras Graecas) discere, quippe quae ad virtutem doctoribus nihil profuerant'. See Lactant. Div. Inst. VI. 20. 27 'in scaenis quoque nescio an sit corruptela vitiosior. nam et comicae fabulae de stupris virginum loquuntur aut amoribus meretricum, et quo magis sunt eloquentes qui

flagitia illa finxerunt, eo magis sententiarum elegantia persuadent et facilius inhaerent audientium memoriae versus numerosi et ornati'.

scaena: the emendation of Heumann for the meaningless **poena** of the MSS. means 'the stage'. Cic. N. D. III. 69 'nec vero scaena solum referta est his sceleribus, sed multo vita communis paene maioribus'. Orat. 86 'accedet actio non tragica nec scaenae'. Mart. IX. 28. 1 'dulce decus scaenae, ludorum fama, Latinus'. Plin. Ep. IV. 25. 4 'ludibria scaena et pulpito digna'.

508. **crimina**: i. q. flagitia, 'scandals'. H. 9. 53 'una, recens crimen, referetur adultera nobis'. Prop. III. 19. 15 'crimen et illa fuit . . . arboris in frondes condita Myrrha novae'. IV. 4. 43 'quantum ego sum Ausoniis crimen factura puellis'. So joined with possessive genitive, T. IV. 9. 26 'perpetuae crimen posteritatis eris', i. e. 'perpetuo eris opprobrio apud posteros'. The word often means a 'reproach' supr. 92. H. 4. 58 'enixa est utero crimen onusque suo', cp. 11. 64 'uteri crimen onusque mei', in which case it is often joined with an objective genitive or possessive pronoun. III. 12. 9 'malae matris crimen'. Prop. I. 11. 30 'a, pereant Baiae, crimen amoris, aquae!' Supr. 61 'crimina nostra'. Am. II. 11. 35 'vestrum crimen erit talis iactura puellae'. Prop. II. 28. 2 'tam formosa tuum mortua crimen erit'. Dirae 82 'o male devoti, praetorum crimina, agelli!' Verg. Aen. X. 188 'crimen, Amor, vestrum'.

praetor emit: since the control of the public spectacles (cura ludorum) was assigned wholly to the praetors by Augustus 22 B. C. (Dio LIV. 2. 3), the praetor defrayed the expense of the dramatic exhibitions by money granted by the State, which was largely augmented by contributions of his own, Dio LIV. 17; he paid the director of each company of actors (dominus gregis) called in the case of mimes the 'archimimus'. The director purchased his piece from the poet: Hor. Ep. II. 1. 175 'gestit enim nummum in loculos demittere, post hoc securus cadat an recto stet fabula talo'. Ter. Eun. prol. 20 'Menandri eunuchum postquam aediles emerunt'. Hec. prol. 1. 7 and 2. 57 'pretio emptas meo'. Iuv. 6. 380 'vocem vendentis praetoribus'. Donatus says that 8,000 sesterces were paid by the aediles to Terence for two performances of the Eunuchus (Eun. praef.). Iuv. 7. 87 'intactam Paridi nisi vendit Agaven'. Marquardt, Staatsv. III. 486 foll., 538 foll. Michaut, 361 foll. The purchase of a play was made by formal contract, 'emptio venditio', hence **emit** and **empta** (510), examples of the legal phraseology frequent in Ovid: cp. P. IV. 15. 18. H. 7. 118. Iddekinge, De insigni in poeta Ovidio Romani iuris peritia, p. 75.

509. **ludorum sumptus . . . tuorum.** Augustus spent lavishly on the public spectacles. Mon. Anc. 22. 35 'ludos feci meo nomine quater, aliorum autem magistratuum vicem ter et viciens'. Suet. Aug. 43 'spectaculorum et assiduitate et varietate et magnificentia omnes antecessit. fecisse se ludos ait suo nomine quater, pro aliis magistratibus, qui aut abessent aut non sufficerent, ter et vicies'. Aur. Vict. Epit. I. 25 'quodque est laeti animi vel amoeni, oblectabatur omni genere spectaculorum'.

Auguste. This title, decreed by the Senate, was assumed on January 16, 27 B. C., as 'a title expressive of sanctity, and a step to the divine honours paid to him, even during life, in various parts of the empire'. Furneaux, Tac. Ann. I, p. 66. Mon. Anc. 34. 16. Suet. Aug. 7. Ov. F. I. 587 gives the Ides as the date of the bestowal of the title, on which day Augustus formally declared the civil wars to

be ended. This title is rarely used, as here, Hor. Carm. IV. 14. 3, Prop. II. 10. 15, IV. 6. 38, in addressing the sovereign until the first century A. D. Friedländer on Mart. IV. 27. 1.

tibi: dat. of agent, stands next to **empta**, being constructed with it, according to Ovid's usage. Hilberg, p. 89.

511. **dedisti**: you have paid for them. Cic. Mur. 72 'spectacula sunt tributim data'. Script. Hist. Aug., Carinus, 19. 1 'ludos populo Romano novis ornatos spectaculis dederunt'.

512. **maiestas**: the grandeur, exalted station of the emperor. P. II. 8. 30 'perque tori sociam . . . cui maiestas non onerosa tua est'. IV. 8. 56 'tantaque maiestas ore canentis eget'. 9. 68 'maiestatem res data dantis habet'. III. 1. 156 'sentiet illa (Livia) te maiestatem pertimuisse suam'. Hor. Ep. II. 1. 257 'neque parvum carmen maiestas recipit tua'. Phaedr. II. 5. 23 'tum sic iocata est tanta maiestas ducis'.

513. **luminibus**: eyes. III. 5. 49.

513. **totus quibus utitur orbis**: which are engaged in watching over and governing the whole world. P. I. 7. 43 'qui pervidet omnia Caesar'.

514. **lentus**: i. q. sine ira: displaying no feeling or passion. So H. 3. 22 'cessas iraque lenta tua est'. Am. II. 19. 51 'lentus es et pateris nulli patienda marito'. H. 8. 18 'rapta coniuge lentus eris'? 17. 249 'tu fore tam iusta lentum Menelaon in ira . . . putas?' Tibull. I. 10. 57 'at lascivus Amor rixae mala verba ministrat, inter et iratum lentus utrumque sedet'. Prop. III. 8. 19 'non est certa fides, quam non in iurgia vertas. hostibus eveniat lenta puella meis!'

515–16. If it is lawful to write mimes, in which indecencies are represented with dramatic imitation on the stage, my poetry is less culpable, since being not dramatic it appeals less to the senses.

515. **imitantes**: *μιμουμένους*. 'The primitive sense of *μιμεῖσθαι* must have been "to play the *μῖμος*", to reproduce the language, tones, gestures, &c., of another—a sense which survives in the use of the term for the imitation of persons by actors on the stage'. Bywater, Aristot. Poet. on 1447 a 16.

516. **materiae**: the subject-matter of my book contrasted with that of mimes. **materia**, 'subject-matter', supr. 70, 321, 336. I. 5. 56. Am. I. 1. 1, 19. P. II. 5. 26, 32.

517. **an** introduces a question implying the needlessness of the preceding remark: Roby, 2255.

scripti: writing, composition, supr. 381; infra 539. V. 1. 6 'materiae scripto conveniente suae'. P. III. 7. 7 'ergo mutetur scripti sententia nostri'. IV. 16. 24 'Marius scripti dexter in omne genus'. So inf. 553 'scriptum regale' 'a composition (work) about royalty'. V. 1. 67 'ulli nec scripta fuerunt nostra nisi auctori perniciosa suo'. V. 9. 8. P. I. 5. 83.

sua pulpita: in front of the 'scaena', a wall at the back of the stage representing the scenery, was the stage (**pulpita**, pro-scaenium). Mimes were performed on the front part of this, which was shut off from the back part by a curtain (siparium). Iuv. 8. 186 and schol. Marquardt, Staatsv. III. 549. Michaut, 312 foll., 394 foll.

518. The construction is 'et (an) quod mimis licet, id illis licere scaena (id ipsum, quod aguntur in scaena) dedit?' (Loers).

519. **populo**: dat. commodi.

saltata poemata: exhibitions by actors of dances with elaborate mimicry representing characters from mythology or literature (Hor.

Sat. I. 5. 63 'pastorem saltaret uti Cyclopa rogabat', Ep. II. 2. 124 'ut qui nunc Satyrum nunc agrestem Cyclopa movetur'), prepared the way for the further development here referred to, which ministered to the jaded taste of the Roman public, grown tired of long dramas. Portions of scenes taken from plays were similarly rendered with dancing; Suet. Iul. 84 'inter ludos cantata sunt quaedam ad miserationem et invidiam caedis eius accommodata, ex Pacuvi armorum iudicio . . . et ex Electra Acili ad similem sententiam'; and with elaborate gesture, in which the hands played a large part; Lucian, Salt. 63 and 71, Iuv. 6. 63, Petron. fr. 19; and with elaborate musical accompaniment, Macrob. Sat. II. 7. 19, Ov. Rem. 753. In the same way also poems not intended for the stage were performed. Thus, Nero acted the part of Turnus, for which the libretto was a selection from Virgil, Suet. Ner. 54, and of Canace, ibid. 21, for which the libretto may have been Ovid's Canace, H. 11. The libretto was recited in recitative by the choir who accompanied the dancer. Such performances were called 'fabulae salticae', and were concerned largely with erotic subjects: Rem. 755 'illic adsidue ficti saltantur amantes: quid caveas, actor, quid iuvet, arte docet'. The **saltata poemata** here mentioned were apparently portions of the Ars Amatoria, the apology for which work is the main subject of this book. Not only, argues Ovid, mimes are permitted and even witnessed by you the emperor (514), but my own poems also (et) have been performed by dancers in public in your august presence (520). In V. 7. 25 'carmina quod pleno saltari nostra theatro, versibus et plaudi scribis, amice, meis, nil equidem feci (tu scis hoc ipse) theatris, Musa nec in plausus ambitiosa mea est', he speaks of poems of his own as having been performed as 'fabulae salticae' with applause, after he had gone into exile. These clearly cannot have been parts of the incriminated Ars Amatoria, the cause of his disgrace. They were probably some of the Heroides, a work specially suited for that purpose. It is even possible that passages from his exile-poems eulogizing the emperor were thus publicly rendered, since such poetical panegyrics were later rendered by dancers, Plin. Paneg. 54 'et quis iam locus miserae adulationis manebat ignarus, cum laudes imperatorum ludis etiam et commissationibus celebrarentur, saltarentur atque in omne ludibrium effeminatis vocibus, modis, gestibus frangerentur?' The popularity of the 'fabulae salticae' led to the fully developed pantomime, perfected by Pylades and Bathyllus, for which even poets of distinction such as Lucan and Statius did not disdain to write librettos. Teuffel, 303. 4. Jahn, Pers. prolegg. xxxiv. Iuv. 7. 92. See Marquardt, Staatsv. III. 551 foll. Friedländer, Sittengesch. II. 459. Schanz, II. 1. 412.

521–4. Pictures in private houses.

521. **scilicet**: 17 n.

domibus nostris: 'the houses of us Romans'. **nostris**, the reading of a few unimportant MSS., must be accepted in place of **vestris**, the reading of LΓ and most MSS. and editors. Since the Book is addressed to Augustus **domibus vestris** would mean 'the houses of you and the rest of the imperial House' or 'of you and other Romans'. But in attempting to conciliate a sovereign offended by his indecency, Ovid would hardly have dared to inform him that, following the fashion, he himself possessed an indecent picture in his palace.

ut . . . sic: 423 n.

522. **artificis** is preferable to **artifici**, the reading of AGHP and

several MSS. retained by most editors, not only because it has better MS. support, but because if Ovid had written **artifici** he would, according to his usual arrangement of words, have written **fulgent artifici**. Hilberg, p. 561. Cp. P. IV. 1. 29 'Venus artificis labor est et gloria Coi'.

corpora picta may refer to the full-length portraits of triumphant generals with which it was the custom to adorn the atrium. Iuv. 8. 1 'quid prodest, Pontice, longo sanguine censeri, pictos ostendere vultus maiorum et stantis in curribus Aemilianos et Curios iam dimidios umerosque minorem Corvinum, et Galbam auriculis nasoque carentem?' explained by the schol. on l. 5 'vetustate picturae ita effectum'. Laus. Pis. P. L. M. I. 225. 8 'nam quid imaginibus, quid avitis fulta triumphis atria, quid pleni numeroso consule fasti profuerint?' Mart. II. 90. 6. Marquardt, Privatl. 244. Portrait-heads are introduced into the mural decoration of some of the houses of Pompeii, Cambridge Companion to Latin Studies, 887. Or portraits of distinguished men placed among other pictures through the rage for picture collecting may be meant. Plin. N. H. XXXV. 4 'pinacothecas veteribus tabulis consuunt alienasque effigies colunt, ipsi honorem non nisi in pretio ducentes, ut frangat heres'. Hor. Ep. II. 2. 180. Stat. Silv. II. 2. 64. Sen. Dial. IX. 9. 6. Ep. 115. 8. Evidence for the Roman fondness for portraits is the Imagines of Varro, the first Roman illustrated book, which contained 700 portraits of illustrious Greeks and Romans with biographies. Plin. N. H. XXXV. 11. Gell. N. A. III. 10. 1 and 17.

523. **Veneris**: 310 n.

524. **parva tabella**: the painting of small pictures, 'cabinets', called **parvae tabellae**, Plin. N. H. XXXV. 20, 26, 124, was practised with special success by Parrhasius, fl. circ. 400 B.C., the younger contemporary of Zeuxis. Prop. III. 9. 12 'Parrhasius parva vindicat arte locum'. He excelled in licentious subjects, Plin. N. H. XXXV. 72 'pinxit et minoribus tabellis libidines eo genere petulantis ioci se reficiens'. His pictures of this sort gratified the prurient taste of Tiberius, such as his 'archigallus', Plin. l. c. 70 'quam picturam amavit Tiberius princeps', and his Meleager, Suet. Tib. 44 'Parrhasi quoque tabulam, in qua Meleagro Atalanta ore morigeratur . . . non modo praetulit, sed et in cubiculo dedicavit'. On such pictures Prop. II. 6. 27 'quae manus obscenas depinxit prima tabellas . . . illa puellarum ingenuos corrupit ocellos, nequitiaeque suae noluit esse rudes'. A. A. II. 679 'utque velis, Venerem iungunt per mille figuras: invenit plures nulla tabella modos'. Suet. Tib. 43.

525–8. Pictures publicly displayed.

The two pictures referred to in 525–6 are the Ajax (**Telamonius**) and Medea, probably composed as pendants, the chief works of Timomachus of Byzantium, the last great Greek painter, who is mentioned as a master along with Apelles by Cicero, II. Verr. IV. 135 'quid, ut (Venerem) pictam, Coos? . . . quid Cyzicenos, ut Aiacem et Medeam (alluding to Apelles' Venus Anadyomene and the Ajax and Medea of Timomachus). Timomachus was a contemporary of Julius Caesar, Pliny, N. H. XXXV. 136 'Timomachus Byzantius Caesaris dictatoris aetate Aiacem et Medeam pinxit ab eo in Veneris Genetricis aede positas, lxxx talentis venundatas'. See Pfuhl, Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen, pp. 820–4. Timomachus excelled in depicting the conflict of emotions. His Ajax, inspired by the Ajax of Sophocles, showed the hero in the despair that followed his recovery from frenzy. His Medea, inspired by the Medea of Euripides, represented the affronted

princess about to murder her children, hesitating between pity and revenge [387 n.]. On the Ajax see Philostrat. vit. Apoll. II. 22. 5 *οὐδ' ἂν τὸν Αἴαντά τις τὸν Τιμομάχου ἀγασθείη, ὃς δὴ ἀναγέγραπται αὐτῷ μεμηνώς, εἰ μὴ ἀναλάβοι τι ἐς τὸν νοῦν Αἴαντος εἴδωλον καὶ ὡς εἰκὸς αὐτὸν ἀπεκτονότα τὰν τῇ Τροίᾳ βουκόλια καθῆσθαι ἀπειρηκότα, βουλὴν ποιούμενον καὶ ἑαυτὸν κτεῖναι.* Anth. P. XVI. 83. On the Medea, of which a copy has survived in a wall-painting from Pompeii, Helbig, Wandgemälde 1262 (2), or perhaps in one from Herculaneum, Helbig, 1264, see Sellers, The Elder Pliny's chapters on the history of art, p. 160. It is described in three epigrams in the Anthology, Anth. P. XVI. 135, 136, 137 translated by Ausonius, respectively Epigr. 23, p. 430, Peiper, Epigr. 21, p. 429, epigr. 22, p. 429. The reference to it as then still in Greece in Aetna 594 'sub truce nunc parvi ludentes Colchide nati,' is a cogent argument for attributing the authorship of the Aetna to Virgil. Frank, Vergil, p. 59. The third picture, in 527–8, the Venus Anadyomene (*ἡ ἀναδυομένη Ἀφροδίτη*) representing Venus at her birth rising from the sea, was the masterpiece of the greatest painter of antiquity, Apelles, who flourished in the latter part of the fourth century B.C. Strabo XIV. 2. 19, p. 657. d. *ἦν δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀναδυομένη Ἀφροδίτη, ἣ νῦν ἀνακεῖται τῷ θεῷ Καίσαρι ἐν Ῥώμῃ, τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ἀναθέντος τῷ πατρὶ τὴν ἀρχηγέτιν τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ· φασὶ δὲ τοῖς Κώοις ἀντὶ τῆς γραφῆς ἑκατὸν ταλάντων ἄφεσιν γενέσθαι τοῦ προσταχθέντος φόρου.* Am. I. 14. 33 'illis contulerim, quas quondam nuda Dione pingitur umenti sustinuisse manu'. A. A. III. 401 'si Venerem Cous numquam posuisset Apelles, mersa sub aequoreis illa lateret aquis'; ibid. 224 'nunc, nobile signum, nuda Venus madidas exprimit imbre comas'. P. IV. I. 29 'ut Venus artificis labor est et gloria Coi, aequoreo madidas quae premit imbre comas'. An epigram on this picture by Antipater, Anth. P. XVI. 178 is translated by Auson., epigr. 8, p. 423, Peiper.

The Venus and Medea are coupled in the Aetna, 593 'nunc Paphiae rorantis matre capilli, sub truce nunc parvi ludentes Colchide nati'.

The Ajax and Medea were brought by Julius Caesar from Cyzicus and placed in the temple which he dedicated to Venus Genetrix, Cic. II. Verr. IV. 135. Plin. N. H. VII. 126. Augustus placed in the same temple the Venus Anadyomene, painted by Apelles for the temple of Asclepios at Cos, Plin. N. H. XXXV. 91.

525. **fassus**: i.q. prodens, 'betraying', 'revealing'. I. 4. 11 'navita confessus gelidum pallore timorem'. M. VI. 35 'confessaque vultibus iram'. So Iuv. 2. 17 'qui vultu morbum incessuque fatetur'. 10. 172 'mors sola fatetur quantula sint hominum corpuscula'. 15. 132 'mollissima corda humano generi dare se natura fatetur'.

iram: M. XIII. 384 'Hectora qui solus . . . unam non sustinet iram'.

526. **in oculis**: Eur. Med. 92 *ἤδη γὰρ εἶδον ὄμμα νιν ταυρουμένην τοῖσδ', ὥς τι δρασείουσαν.*

barbara mater: H. 6. 19 'barbara venefica', 81 'barbara paelex', both of Medea. So Eur. Med. 591 *βάρβαρον λέχος πρὸς γῆρας οὐκ εὔδοξον ἐξέβαινέ σοι.*

528. **maternis**: 'that gave birth to her'. Anth. P. XVI. 178. 1 *τὰν ἀναδυομέναν ἀπὸ ματέρος ἄρτι θαλάσσας Κύπριν, Ἀπελλείου μόχθον ὅρα γραφίδος, ὡς χερὶ συμμάρψασα διάβροχον ὕδατι χαίταν ἐκθλίβει νοτερῶν ἀφρὸν ἀπὸ πλοκάμων,* Auson., epigr. 8, p. 423, Peiper, 'emersam pelagi nuper genitalibus undis Cyprin Apellei cerne laboris opus: ut complexa manu madidos salis aequore crines umidulis spumas stringit

utraque comis'. It may be noticed that Ovid usually does not follow the Homeric legend, in which Aphrodite is the daughter of Zeus and Dione, Il. V. 370, but, after Hesiod, Theog. 188 foll., derives her birth from the foam of the sea, H. 7. 60; 15. 213; 16. 24; 19. 160. F. IV. 62. 93. In M. IV. 532–8, where Neptune is described as Venus' uncle and later she herself as born from the sea-foam, the two legends are combined.

videtur: not 'seems' but 'is seen' by the spectator of the statue, expressing ὅρα, 'cerne' in the epigrams quoted above, Anth. P. XVI. 178. 2. and Ausonius' version, as **modo tecta** expresses ἀναδυομέναν ἄρτι θαλάσσας and 'emersam nuper'. Cp. M. III. 400 'inde latet silvis nulloque in monte videtur'. XIV. 727 'adero praesensque videbor'. The early Italian conjecture printed in the Bologna editions of 1474 and 1480, approved by Burman, and by Dorville in his manuscript notes, **nata** for **tecta**, is no improvement. The picture of Venus 'just now covered' by the sea-waves is as good as that of Venus 'just now born' from them.

529. **sonant**: of elevated style. A. A. I. 206 'magno nobis ore sonandus eris'. M. X. 205 'te carmina nostra sonabunt'. Verg. G. III. 294 'magno nunc ore sonandum'. Hor. Sat. I. 4. 44.

alii. See on 73 supra. To the poets there mentioned as epic poets, who celebrated the achievements of Julius and Augustus Caesar, may be added (1) P. Terentius Varro Atacinus, whose Bellum Sequanicum, Priscian, G. L. K. II. 497. 10, probably described Caesar's war against Ariovistus, 58 B.C. He is mentioned among the 'auctores carminum' by Velleius II. 36. 2.

(2) Rabirius, 'magnique Rabirius oris', Ov. P. IV. 16. 5, classed by Velleius with Virgil, II. 36. 3 'inter quae (ingenia) maxime nostri aevi eminent princeps carminum Vergilius Rabiriusque', by Quintilian with Pedo, Inst. Or. X. 1. 90 'Rabirius ac Pedo non indigni cognitione, si vacet'. His historical epic, of which five fragments survive, Baehrens, F. P. L. 356, seems to have described the downfall of Antony. The epigrammatic saying quoted by Seneca suggests the style of Lucan, Sen. Ben. VI. 3. 1 'egregie mihi videtur M. Antonius apud Rabirium poetam, cum fortunam suam transeuntem alio videat et sibi nihil relictum praeter ius mortis, id quoque si cito occupaverit, exclamare, "hoc habeo quodcumque dedi"'. The fragments of a poem on the war in Egypt against Antony and Cleopatra discovered at Herculaneum, P. L. M. 1. 214 were attributed by Ciampitti to Rabirius, but their poor style makes this improbable. Teuffel 252. 9. Schanz II. 1. 357.

(3) Cornelius Severus wrote an historical epic. Probus, G. L. K. IV. 208. 16 'Cornelius Severus rerum Romanarum lib. I. dicit "pelagum pontumque moveri"'. It is probable that the 'Siculum bellum' mentioned by Quintilian, and the 'carmen regale' mentioned by Ovid formed parts of this work. Quintil. X. 1. 89 'Cornelius Severus, etiamsi sit versificator quam poeta melior, si tamen, ut est dictum, ad exemplar primi libri bellum Siculum perscripsisset, vindicaret sibi iure secundum locum'. Ov. P. IV. 16. 9 'quique dedit Latio carmen regale Severus'. The 'bellum Siculum' was the war of Octavian against Sextus Pompeius 38–36 B.C. The carmen 'regale' is supposed by Ribbeck, Gesch. d. röm. Dichtung II. 342, to have been an episode in which, as Virgil had done, the early Kings of Alba were introduced. Seneca, Suas. VI. 26, quotes twenty-five fine hexameters on the death of Cicero. Other fragments in Baehrens, F. P. L. 352.

Ovid, P. IV. 2. 1 (addressed to Severus) calls him 'vates magnorum maxime regum'.

(4) The poet mentioned P. IV. 16. 21, as 'velivoli maris vates', who celebrated either, like Severus, the war in Sicily, or Actium.

(5) The poet mentioned P. IV. 16. 23 'quique acies Libycas Romanaque proelia dixit', who wrote of one of the wars in Africa.

(6) Albinovanus Pedo, mentioned with Rabirius as an epic poet by Quintilian X. 1. 90, wrote an historical epic, of which part may have been completed at the time when Ovid wrote this book. Seneca, Suas. I. 15, quotes twenty-three hexameters from it describing the storm encountered by the fleet of Germanicus A. D. 16, Tac. A. II. 23, an event subsequent to this book. Ovid's epithet, P. IV. 16. 6, 'sidereus Pedo' probably refers to his style, clear and luminous as a star, Ribbeck, Gesch. d. röm. Dichtung II. 344.

531–2. He disparages his own talent: cp. 327. III. 14. 33 'ingenium fregere meum mala, cuius et ante fons infecundus parvaque vena fuit'. P. II. 5. 21 'ingenioque meo, vena quod paupere manat, plaudis, et e rivo flumina magna facis'.

531. The reading of L **inuidiā spacio** is a mere corruption of **invida me spatio**, on which no conjecture can be based, either mine, ed. 1889, p. 230 'invidia (i. e. prae invidia) spatio natura coercuit arto ingenii vires, exiguasque dedit', or Hilberg's, p. 134 'invidia s. n. c. a. ingenio vires'. In either case 'meas' with **vires**, required by the sense, is left unexpressed.

exiguasque: the misplacement of **-que** is fairly frequent in Ovid, but I have noted only one instance where as here it is appended to an adjective: IV. 1. 40 'praesentis casus inmemoremque facit'. There, however, the soundness of the text is unquestionable. If it were not so this line might be brought into conformity with Ovid's general usage by reading **exiguas vires ingenioque**, with the normal position of the adjective before its substantive (Hilberg, p. 134); for Ovid does join the misplaced **-que** to substantives: I. 8. 2. V. 10. 40. A. A. I. 332. 712. F. II. 258. III. 418. P. I. 4. 54. Ibis 574. So Nux 94.

533. **tuae**. Augustus was closely identified with the Aeneid, not only because it owed its existence to his encouragement during its composition (Donat. vit. Verg. 31), and its publication by Varius and Tucca by his order after Virgil's death (Donat. loc. cit. 41 'edidit autem auctore Augusto Varius', ibid. 38 and 39), but also because in his epic Virgil traced the ancestral greatness of the gens Julia and lent his support to the government of Augustus, which secured stability and the predominance of Italy as a civilizing power which brought peace, Donat. vit. Verg. 21. Serv. Aen. I, p. 4 Thilo, 'intentio Vergilii haec est . . . Augustum laudare a parentibus'. F. W. H. Myers, Classical Essays, p. 152. Frank, Vergil, p. 173.

felix: fortunate through the patronage of Augustus and Maecenas, Mart. VIII. 56.

in Tyrios . . . toros: i. q. in lectum Phoenissae Didonis.

arma virumque: i. q. armatum virum 'the armed warrior'. The meaning of the couplet is that even the Aeneid contains a love theme, the Aeneid being indicated by the words **arma virumque**, because those are its opening words. Taken in connexion with the words 'Aeneiaque arma' in Am. I. 15. 25 'Tityrus et segetes Aeneiaque arma legentur', line 534 here tends to show that **arma virumque** was the beginning of the Aeneid as Ovid knew it. That indeed was its

beginning, as published by Varius and Tucca, and known to all ancient writers: Pers. 1. 96 '"arma virum" nonne hoc spumosum?' Mart. VIII. 56. 19 'protinus "Italiam" concepit et "arma virumque"'. XIV. 185. 2 'ne nucibus positis "arma virumque" legas'. Auson. epigr. 137. 1, p. 421, Peiper, '"arma virumque" docens atque "arma virumque" peritus'. Sen. Ep. 113. 25 'versus ergo animal est. ita "arma virumque cano" animal est'. C.I.L. II. 4967. 31. So Prop. II. 34. 63 'qui nunc Aeneae Troiani suscitat arma iactaque Lavinis moenia litoribus'. The reference in A.A. III. 337 'profugum Aenean' is looser. Moreover 'arma virumque' is the beginning, as it stands in all our MSS.

The lines

> ille ego, qui quondam gracili modulatus avena
> carmen, et egressus silvis vicina coegi
> ut quamvis avido parerent arva colono,
> gratum opus agricolis, at nunc horrentia Martis,

which Hirtzel, following Henry, prints at the beginning of the Aeneid, are found in the text of no MS.; though they are written in the margin by a later hand in one Berne MS., saec. ix. Also they were known to Priscian, who twice quotes them: G.L.K. II. 583. 17. III. 143. 21. Their claim to stand as the beginning of the Aeneid rests on the statement of the 'grammaticus' Nisus that they were removed by Varius from the text (Donat. vit. Verg. 42), which statement is repeated by Servius in his preface, p. 2, Thilo. But Servius is inconsistent; for at the end of the preface he quotes 'arma virumque' as the beginning of the Aeneid, and makes the interesting remark that epic poets began with words which concisely indicated their theme, p. 5 'veteres incipiebant carmen a titulo carminis sui, ut puta "arma virumque cano", Lucanus "bella per Emathios", Statius "fraternas acies alternaque regna"'. In this Servius shows insight. As a matter of taste it can hardly be disputed that of the two **arma virumque** is the more effective opening on account of its simplicity and self-effacement.

Mr. J. S. Phillimore, Ille ego, Oxford, 1920, has vindicated the Virgilian Latinity of the lines, though it might be argued that this merely proves that their author was steeped in Virgilian phraseology. But since there are no uncertain indications that Virgil early in life began an epic, with Julius Caesar as its predominant figure (Donat. vit. Verg. 19 'mox cum res Romanas incohasset, offensus materia ad Bucolica transiit', Ec. 6. 3 'cum canerem reges et proelia', T. Frank, Vergil, a biography, p. 68 foll., Classical Quarterly, XIV. 156), which he laid aside when Caesar was murdered, the most probable conclusion is that the four lines vouched for by Nisus formed an opening designed for that youthful poem; and that when Virgil recast his epic into its final form, he intended to suppress those lines, which, knowing his intention, his editors Varius and Tucca accordingly removed, exercising their right to remove what was unsuitable. Serv. I, p. 2, Thilo 'Augustus vero, ne tantum opus periret, Tuccam et Varium hac lege iussit emendare, ut superflua demerent, nihil adderent tamen'. This is more likely than that, as Deuticke thought, Verg. Aen., p. 1, they were composed by Virgil to accompany a particular presentation copy, or that they are the composition of a 'grammaticus', similar in kind to the apocryphal lines which stand in some MSS. at the beginning of Horace, Sat. I. 10. In any case they should not be printed as the beginning of the Aeneid.

In my judgement the expression 'at nunc' is suspicious. Though 'at nunc', i. q. 'nunc vero', is used to introduce a contrast (Munro on Lucret. 1. 169) the use of 'at' is strange. This conjunction contrasts two statements, as Aen. VII. 445 'talibus Allecto dictis exarsit in iras: at iuveni oranti subitus tremor occupat artus'; or a conditional sentence and a statement, Aen. I. 542 'si genus humanum et mortalia temnitis arma, at sperate deos' (cp. supr. 15); but it does not contrast a relative clause with a statement. Virgil might have said 'ille ego, qui vicina coegi arva, nunc horrentia Martis arma cano' or 'ego quondam vicina coegi arva, at nunc horrentia Martis arma cano'. I do not think that when his style was matured he could have said 'ille ego, qui coegi etc., at nunc cano'. I do not think it possible to construe 'I am the man who ('ille ego (sum), qui') wrote the Eclogues and Georgics, but now ('at nunc') I write the Aeneid', because where the expression 'ille ego' means 'I am the man', 'sum' is always expressed: Tibull. I. 6. 31 'ille ego sum, cui'. Prop. IV. 9. 37 'qui sustulit orbem, ille ego sum'. Ov. H. 12. 105 'illa ego, quae tibi sum . . . barbara facta, nunc tibi sum pauper'. P. I. 2. 35 'ille ego sum, lignum qui non admittar in ullum: ille ego sum, frustra qui lapis esse velim'. ibid. 131. T. IV. 5. 12. M. IV. 226. F. III. 505. Ibis 245. Mart. IX. praef. 5. X. 53. 1. Riese, Anth. L. 842. 1. P. L. M. V. 97. (III. 1.) Bücheler, Carm. Epigr. II. 892. 1. Without 'sum' expressed 'ille ego' means 'I the (man)' or 'I the well-known (man)': Am. II. 1. 1 'hoc quoque conposui . . . ille ego nequitiae Naso poeta meae'. III. 8. 23 'ille ego Musarum purus Phoebique sacerdos ad rigidas canto carmen inane fores?' T. IV. 10. 1 'ille ego qui fuerim, tenerorum lusor amorum, quem legis, ut noris, accipe posteritas' ('learn who I am, the singer of soft loves'). V. 7. 55 'ille ego Romanus vates . . . Sarmatico cogor plurima more loqui'. M. I. 757. Bücheler, Carm. Epigr. II. 1273 'ille ego, qui . . . laborem sustinui . . ., transmisi'. P. L. M. IV. 113, 125. 1. If Virgil had intended to retain the earlier draft as the opening of the Aeneid, he would, I suspect, have altered 'at nunc'.

535–6. **corpore toto**, 'the entire work', 232 n. 'corpus' a complete work, as Cic. Fam. V. 12. 4 'videtur mihi modicum quoddam corpus confici posse'. Suet. Gramm. 6 'novem (volumina) unius corporis'.

non legitimo foedere iunctus amor: the love of Dido and Aeneas. On the popularity of Aeneid IV, of which Ovid's Epistle, H. 7 (Dido) is evidence, see Glover's Virgil, p. 172 'Macrobius says that for centuries painters, sculptors, and workers in embroidery had turned to Dido, as if it were the only subject in which beauty was to be found, while the very actors had never ceased to tell her sorrows in dance and song. Augustine himself confesses that he wept to read of Dido and "how she slew herself for love", and he links her story with "ipsius umbra Creusae"'. Macrob. V. 17. 5–6. August. Confess. I. 13.

537. **Phyllidis . . . Amaryllidis**: girls celebrated in Virgil's Eclogues, Phyllis, Ec. 3. 76, 78, 107; 5. 10; 7. 59, 63; 10. 37, 41. Amaryllis, Ec. 1. 5, 30, 36; 2. 14; 3. 81; 9. 22. Ovid refers to Amaryllis, A. A. II. 267. III. 183.

tenerae: a constant epithet of women contrasted with men. Catull. 61. 3 'qui rapis teneram ad virum virginem'. Hor. Carm. I. 1. 26 'tenerae coniugis'. 21. 1 'tenerae virgines'. Am. III. 4. 1 'dure vir, imposito tenerae custode puellae nil agis'.

ignes: 407 n. Verg. Ec. 5. 10 'si quos aut Phyllidis ignes aut Alconis habes laudes'.

538. **iuvenis**: the Eclogues, the work of Virgil's youth, were published probably about 37 B. C., Virgil's thirty-third year. Nettleship in Conington's Vergil, fifth edition, vol. i, p. xxiii.

luserat: of light love poetry, alluding to Verg. Ec. i. 10 'ipsum ludere, quae vellem, calamo permisit agresti'. T. I. 9. 61 'scis vetus hoc iuveni lusum mihi carmen'.

modis: 331–2 n.

The sibilation of this line should be noticed, a feature characteristic of Ovid's verse. I. 3. 25 'si licet exemplis in parvis grandibus uti'. III. 10. 8 'ille suis liquidis bella repellit aquis'; 19 'pellibus et sutis arcent mala frigora bracis'; 45 'et quamvis Boreas iactatis insonet alis'. F. III. 520 'quem Tiberis curvis in latus urget aquis'. V. 581 'gens fuit et campis et equis et tuta sagittis, et circumfusis invia fluminibus'. VI. 311 'ecce coronatis panis dependet asellis'. 735 'iuvenis telis afflatus avitis'. M. II. 126 'si potes his saltem monitis parere parentis'; 242 'mediis Tanais fumavit in undis'. XIII. 397 'littera communis mediis pueroque viroque inscripta est foliis, haec nominis, illa querelae'. XV. 169 'utque novis facilis signatur cera figuris'; 285 'Scythicis Hypanis de montibus ortus, qui fuerat dulcis, salibus vitiatur amaris'; 293 'Achaidas urbes invenies sub aquis; et adhuc ostendere nautae inclinata solent cum moenibus oppida mersis'; 424 'nunc humilis veteres tantummodo Troia ruinas'. 683 'adnuit his motisque deus rata pignora cristis'. P. IV. 10. 47 'huc Lycus, huc Sagaris Peniusque Hypanisque Calesque'.

539. **nos quoque**: like Virgil's Eclogues (538) Ovid's Ars Amatoria belongs to the period when the poet was still a 'iuvenis' (cp. 538). The Ars Amatoria appeared about 2–1 B. C. (Brandt, A. A., p. xxiii), when Ovid was about forty years old, being born on March 20, 43 B. C. T. IV. 10. 5. Tristia II was written A. D. 9–10.

scripto . . . isto: the work in question, the Ars Amatoria, 517 n.

541–2. **delicta notantem praeterii totiens . . . eques.** From 29 B. C., when he assumed the 'praefectura morum', Augustus restored the ancient custom of the 'march past' ('transvectio') of the equites before the censors each year on July 15. On this occasion the equites filed in order on horseback, Dio LXIII. 13, in their 'turmae' before the emperor; an investigation into their characters ('probatio' Val. Max. II. 2. 9) having been previously held. Mommsen thinks that this inspection did not necessarily take place every year. Those to whom any blame attached were degraded from the order. Suet. Aug. 38 'equitum turmas frequenter recognovit, post longam intercapedinem reducto more transvectionis'. Dio LV. 31. The 'probatio' was a development of the 'equitum census' (Liv. XXIX. 37. 8, 'equitatum recognoscere' XXXIX. 44. 1) conducted by the censors, who had the power of degrading an eques guilty of disgraceful conduct and of reducing him to the condition of an 'aerarius', inflicting the 'nota censoria' (Liv. XXIV. 43. 3. Cic. Cluent. 134): hence **delicta notantem** in this passage; cp. Suet. Aug. 39 'in exprobratis alios poena, alios ignominia notavit', while **totiens** refers to the frequency of the 'transvectio'. Mommsen, Staatsr. III. 492 foll. Willems, Le Droit public romain, 274–5 and 386. Gardthausen, Augustus u. s. Zeit, II. 2. 534. See 89 n.

inrequietus, supported by the tradition of practically all the best MSS., has been generally regarded as untenable and rejected by editors, except Merkel in his second edition, Teubner text 1850, Cocchia, and Ehwald-Levy. Merkel understood it as 'disquieted' by the in-

cessant inspections of the knights, and, since Ovid could not have been the only knight who was so disquieted, he read **praeteriit** for **praeterii**, a quite superfluous alteration. Cocchia explains it as 'restless, bold, energetic', in reference to Ovid's career as an 'eques'; but these epithets are not specially appropriate to the wealthy and comfortable class of 'equites', whose main business was finance. Barth had already explained it as 'numquam deses', a singularly inappropriate epithet to apply to Ovid, the idle singer of tender love (III. 3. 73), who avoided public life, for which he was fitted neither physically nor mentally (IV. 10. 37).

The meanings thus attached to **inrequietus** are not supported by the usage of the word elsewhere, which always signifies not 'restless', but 'uninterrupted', 'unceasing'. Thus supr. 236 'bella inrequieta'. M. I. 579 'inrequietus Enipeus' (of the uninterrupted rush of the river), II. 386 'ab aevi sors mea principiis fuit inrequieta' (of the sun-god's unceasing labour in directing the chariot of the sun), V. 443 'flammiferas pinus . . . per pruinosas tulit inrequieta tenebras' (of Demeter's unceasing search for Proserpine), XIII. 730 'inrequieta Charybdis' (of the uninterrupted eddies of Charybdis). Planudes renders the word in I. 579, V. 443 by ἀκάματος, in II. 386 by ἐπίπονος, in XIII. 730 by ἀκοίμητος. So Plin. N. H. II. 6 'formam (mundi) aeterno et inrequieto ambitu, inenarrabili celeritate circumagi' (of the uninterrupted revolution of the world through space), ibid. 11 'inrequieto mundi circuitu', Mart. IV. 78. 3 'discurris tota vagus urbe, nec ulla cathedra est, cui non mane feras inrequietus "have"' (you call unceasingly), Stat. Silv. V. 1. 187 'sacrumque latus geniumque potentem inrequietus ama' (revere unceasingly the sacred presence), Ammian. Marc. XIV. 2. 1 'Isauri diu quidem perduelles spiritus inrequietis motibus erigentes' (uninterrupted risings), XXII. 16. 11 '(Cleopatra) opus iusserat inrequietis laboribus consummari'. Goldbacher has pointed out that the form of the word is participial, and arises from the transitive use of 'requiescere' 'to put to rest' (Wiener Studien, XXVI. 287), found in Verg. Ec. 8. 4 'et mutata suos requierunt flumina cursus', where Servius, who paraphrases 'requierunt' by 'retardarunt, quietos esse fecerunt', quotes from the Io of Calvus 'sol quoque perpetuos meminit requiescere cursus'. Though some editors take it otherwise, 'requiescere' is no doubt used transitively in Prop. II. 22. 25 'Iuppiter Alcmenae geminas requieverat Arctos'. So Sen. uses 'quiescere', Herc. Oet. 1586 'ante descendet glacialis ursae sidus . . . quam tuas laudes populi quiescant'. From this transitive force originates the use of the participle 'requietus' applied to a soldier on the march who has been ordered to halt, whose march is interrupted, in which sense it means 'refreshed by a halt'. So Sallust, Hist. inc. 41. Dietsch, quoted by Servius on Ec. 8. 4 'paululum requietis militibus'. Liv. XLIV. 38. 8 'militem requietum, integrum in tentorio suo'. ibid. 9 'hosti obicias recenti, requieto'. Frontinus, I. 6. 3 'Iphicrates hostes iam etiam fatigatos ipse requietis et ordinatis suis adgressus fudit'. Analogous is the use of the word in agriculture of a field which has lain fallow, been allowed to rest, A. A. II. 351 'da requiem: requietus ager bene credita reddit'. Columella, II. 1. 5 'terra requietior'.

Thus in this line **inrequietus eques** means a knight who is not ordered to halt when riding past the emperor, with reference to the practice that during the 'transvectio equitum' a knight against whose character there was any objection was 'interrupted' in his ride past, called on to halt, and summoned to justify himself. As in the old

Oxford custom of 'plucking', at degree days, degree candidates liable for debt, such a knight originally might be pulled from his horse by his accuser, a troublesome practice which Augustus forbade, Suet. Aug. 38 'neque detrahi quemquam in travehendo ab accusatore passus est' etc. Therefore **praeterii . . . inrequietus eques** is i. q. 'praeterii inrequieto cursu eques', I rode past without being called on to halt to answer a charge, and **inrequietus** is equivalent to 'unchallenged, unimpeached'.

Other readings are (1) **inreprehensus** which rests on the second hand of H and a fifteenth-century Wolfenbüttel MS. This I accepted in my earlier editions, and so Landi and Némethy. The word is Ovidian, V. 14. 22, 'et tantum probitas inreprehensa fuit', M. III. 340. 'Reprehendere' is used of public expression of disapproval by censors, Cic. Cluent. 119, Nettleship, Lectures and Essays, I. 81. But here it is evidently, as Goldbacher says, a conjecture or a gloss.

(2) **iure quietus**, found in a few MSS., adopted by Heinsius, Merkel in his first edition, and Riese. Then **quietus** is explained as 'securus notae censoriae' (Burman), 'mali sibi non conscius' (Platz). But, as Madvig pointed out, Adv. II. 97, **iure** is superfluous, while **quietus** applies to the state of the mind generally 'a tranquil knight', and cannot mean 'unperturbed' by charges that might be brought against me.

(3) **inrevocatus** was conjectured by Bentley; this is supported by Madvig, loc. cit., and adopted by Ehwald and Güthling, but is rightly rejected by Bergk, Kleine phil. Schriften, p. 665, because 'revocare' is not the proper word to use of the 'recognitio equitum'—'neque enim "revocatur" in recognitione equitum, in quem censor animadversurus est sed "citatur ad respondendum"' (Suet. Aug. 38).

(4) Bergk himself proposed **totiens et recitatus eques**, because at the inspection the list of knights was read through, Suet. Calig. 16 'equites Romanos severe curioseque nec sine moderatione recognovit, palam adempto equo quibus aut probri aliquid aut ignominiae inesset, eorum qui minore culpa tenerentur nominibus modo in recitatione praeteritis'. But the position of 'et' is harsh.

Mr. Barrington Ward suggests either 'iure citatus', cp. Suet. Calig. 16, or 'irrecitatus' (ἀπ. λεγ.), i.e. numquam citatus ad respondendum, cp. Suet. Aug. 38.

543. For **iuvenis** many editors accept **iuveni**, found in many MSS., which gives a rather better contrast to **seni**.

544. **parum prudens**: P. II. 10. 15 'Naso parum prudens artem dum tradit amandi, doctrinae pretium triste magister habet'.

545. **sera**: 539 n.

redundavit: 'has fallen abundantly, in excess'. F. VI. 451 'si scelus est, in me commissi poena redundet'. Rem. 536 'gutture fac pleno sumpta redundet (abound) aqua'. H. 9. 95 'quaeque redundabat (overflowed, abounded with) fecundo volnere serpens'. Cic. Sest. 95 'indicibus, quorum hodie copia redundat'. II. in Verr. I. 100 'hinc illae extraordinariae pecuniae redundarunt'. T. III. 1. 73 'in genus auctoris miseri fortuna redundat'. Cp. Cic. Mil. 103 'omnes in me redundant dolores'.

libelli: 1 n. The Ars Amatoria.

546. **meriti sui**: i. e. 'delicti, propter quod inponitur'.

meriti: 'my offence'. M. II. 551 'quid fuerim quid simque vide meritumque require'. Liv. XXV. 6. 4 'quamquam quod ob meritum nostrum succensuistis?' 'meritum' is commoner of 'desert' in a good sense, that which deserves reward; but it also signifies 'desert' in

a bad sense, that which deserves punishment: III. 9. 15 'conscia percussit meritorum pectora Colchis'. P. III. 6. 10 'si iudex meriti cogerer esse mei'.

547. **ne**: final. '(This I say) lest'. Roby 1660.

remissum: 'wanton', the opposite of 'triste', 'grave'. M. III. 318 'forte Iovem memorant diffusum nectare curas seposuisse graves vacuaque agitasse remissos cum Iunone iocos'. Cic. Cael. 13 'cum tristibus severe, cum remissis iucunde vivere'.

548. **grandia vela**: for the metaphor see 329–30 n.

549–62. Ovid, who claimed for his genius a twofold inspiration—Am. III. 1. 67 '"exiguum vati concede, Tragoedia, tempus. tu labor aeternus; quod petit illa, breve est." mota dedit veniam; teneri properentur amores, dum vacat; a tergo grandius urguet opus'; F. II. 3 'nunc primum velis, elegi, maioribus itis: exiguum, memini, nuper eratis opus'—its lighter vein of love poetry, and its more serious impulse to creative imagination, now enumerates his works of the latter class, the Fasti, a calendar, national, historical and religious of Roman festivals (549–52), the tragedy Medea (553–4), and the Metamorphoses, a storehouse of romantic legend (555–62).

549. **sex . . . Fastorum totidemque libellos.** Of the Fasti, the year's 'Calendar' of twelve months, six books only exist, which treat of the first six months from January to June. Masson, Ov. vit. ann. 762, p. 93 Burm., followed by Chr. Jahn and Loers, sought to reconcile Ovid's language here with this fact by understanding **Fasti** not in the usual sense of the year's Calendar, but as the Calendar for each month: 'I have written six Fasti and as many books', paraphrased by Loers 'sex ego singulos Fastos scripsi et illos sex Fastos totidem libellis comprehendi et absolvi'. This interpretation, which attaches to 'Fasti' an unsupported sense, was refuted by Merkel, Fasti, p. cclvi. The natural meaning of **sex totidemque** is 'six and as many more', i. e. twelve, just as F. VI. 725 'iam sex et totidem luces de mense supersunt' means twelve days of the month remain. Cp. III. 517 'sex ubi sustulerit, totidem demerserit orbes' i. e. six risings and six settings. Ibis 373 'misit in altum corpora cum senis altera sena rogum'. T. IV. 10. 77 'et iam complerat genitor sua fata novemque addiderat lustris altera lustra novem'. F. III. 813 'altera tresque super'. Consequently Ovid's meaning is that at the time of writing he had completed in rough draft the Fasti in twelve books, destined to be dedicated to Augustus (551). But the work was incomplete when exile fell upon him. Broken in spirit he seems to have left his work for some time untouched, which is strange, as nothing might have atoned for the offence of the Ars Amatoria better than the Fasti, a patriotic work which was probably designed, like the early odes of the third book of Horace, to support the religious revival of Augustus. Shortly after Augustus' death in A.D. 14, when Ovid began to build his hopes of pardon on the young prince Germanicus, himself a poet, to whom in P. IV. 8. 65 (written about that time) he proposes to devote his talent, 'siquid adhuc igitur vivi, Germanice, nostro restat in ingenio, serviet omne tibi', he appears to have resumed the work, originally intended to be dedicated to Augustus, and remodelled Bk. I, prefixing the dedication to Germanicus, which stands at the beginning, F. I. 1–26. The revision did not extend beyond Bk. I, being no doubt interrupted by the poet's death. The first six books, being in a condition fit for publication, were published posthumously, the remaining six being only in rough draft. The six books were published as

they stood, with the discrepancies due to incomplete revision. Thus along with the dedication to Germanicus in Bk. I, the address to Augustus, II. 3–18, was retained. Moreover, Augustus is addressed III. 116, and though spoken of as dead in Bk. I, is referred to as alive in the remaining books. Also, with the exception of IV. 81–2, VI. 665–6 (see Peter), it is only in the revised Bk. I that passages occur which were written at Tomis, e.g. I. 263–8; 533–6: while such passages as II. 280, III. 10. 541, IV. 377 foll., VI. 395 indicate that the remaining books were written at Rome. Peter, Fasti, p. 10 foll. Schanz II. 1. 308. Plessis, Poésie latine, 424. Knoegel, De retractatione Fastorum, p. 6 foll. There is no certain indication that any fragments of the last six books of the Fasti were preserved. The statement of Servius, Georg. I. 43 'Quintilis et Sextilis mutati sunt postea in honorem Iulii Caesaris et Augusti: unde sunt Iulius et Augustus. sic Ovidius in fastis' is doubtful. Ehwald, Symb. I, p. 3, thinks the words 'sic Ovidius in fastis' are an adscript. Gronovius says that he had seen a note in an early edition stating that the last six books were preserved in a village near Ulm, quoting the couplet with which Bk. VII began: a different version of this beginning in two couplets is quoted by Heinsius from a Vatican and other MSS. (Merkel, Fasti, p. 303). But the discrepancy of these two beginnings seems to indicate forgery.

libellos: books. 1 n.

550. Identical with F. I. 724 'cumque suo finem mense libellus habet'. Here **volumen** 'papyrus roll' is substituted for 'libellus' to avoid tautology with 549. Cp. III. 14. 19 'Sunt quoque mutatae, ter quinque volumina, formae'.

551. **tuo sub nomine**: 'under your name', with your name prefixed, attached as being dedicated to you. IV. 10. 68 'nomine sub nostro fabula nulla fuit' (no scandal attached to my name). Prop. II. 14. 26 'taleque sub nostro nomine carmen erit'. Tac. A. XVI. 19. 5 'flagitia principis sub nominibus (with the names attached) exoletorum . . . perscripsit'. III. 68. 1 'Tiberius quae in Silanum parabat, quo excusatius sub exemplo (by putting forward a precedent) acciperentur, libellos divi Augusti . . . recitari iubet'. Similarly **sub** means 'bearing the name of'. Tac. A. V. 4. 4 'ferebantur sub nominibus consularium fictae in Seianum sententiae.' Mart VII. 12. 7 'vipereumque vomat nostro sub nomine virus'. T. IV. 2. 9 'qui Caesareo iuvenes sub nomine crescunt'. Quintil. Inst. VII. 2. 24 'actiones, quae sub nomine meo feruntur'. See Munro, Lucr. III. 421. Cp. Verg. Ec. 6. 11 'nec Phoebo gratior ulla est, quam sibi quae Vari praescripsit pagina nomen'.

552. **sors**: 'condition', 'plight' i.e. unfortunate fate. I. 5. 61 'nos . . . sors tulit in Geticos Sarmaticosque sinus'. Ciofanus rightly explained it as 'exilii calamitas', i.e. 'relegatio', comparing I. 5. 2 'et cui praecipue sors mea visa sua est'. P. IV. 14. 47 'molliter a vobis mea sors excepta, Tomitae'. T. V. 3. 28 'ferrea sors'.

rupit: i. q. interrupit, broke off my work before it was finally corrected. I. 7. 14 'infelix domini quod fuga rupit opus'.

553. **dedimus**: 'offered', 'presented'. P. IV. 2. 7 'carmina sola tibi memorem testantia curam non data sunt'.

tragicis . . . coturnis: i.e. 'agendum tragoedis' (Némethy). For **coturnis**, meaning tragedy, see 393 n. Am. II. 18. 13 'sceptra tamen sumpsi, curaque tragoedia nostra crevit, et huic operi quamlibet aptus eram: risit Amor pallamque meam pictosque coturnos sceptraque

privata tam cito sumpta manu; hinc quoque me dominae numen deduxit iniquae, deque coturnato vate triumphat Amor'.

scriptum (517 n.) **regale**: a drama about royalties. Hor. Sat. I. 10. 42 'Pollio regum facta canit pede ter percusso'. So an epic poem of Cornelius Severus (Quintil. Inst. X. 1. 89) is described P. IV. 16. 9 'quique dedit Latio carmen regale Severus'. Cp. P. IV. 2. 1 'quod legis, o vates magnorum maxime regum, venit ab intonsis usque, Severe, Getis'. That 'epic about kings' Ribbeck thinks described the fortunes of the Kings of Alba, and was intended to fill the gap between Virgil's Aeneid and the Annals of Ennius. Gesch. d. röm. Dichtung II. 342. See Schanz II. 1. 358. Cp. Verg. Ec. 6. 3 'cum canerem reges'. Ovid's tragedy Medea, of which two lines only are preserved by Quintil. Inst. VIII. 5. 6, Sen. Suas. III. 7, fragments 1–2 in my edition, was apparently designed for recitation not for dramatic representation on the stage, V. 7. 27 'nil equidem feci (tu scis hoc ipse) theatris, Musa nec in plausus ambitiosa mea est'. It may be presumed that the Medea of Euripides and Apollonius Rhodius, Books III–IV, furnished the materials for the story of Medea's betrayal by Jason, treated already in H. 12. Ribbeck, Gesch. d. röm. Dichtung 247. Ovid's tragedy was highly esteemed: Tac. Dial. 12 'nec ullus Asinii aut Messallae liber tam illustris est quam Medea Ovidii aut Varii Thyestes'. Quintil. Inst. X. 1. 98 'Ovidi Medea videtur mihi ostendere quantum ille vir praestare potuerit si ingenio suo imperare quam indulgere maluisset'.

555. **dicta**: 334 n., referring to the opening of the Metamorphoses. I. 1. 'in nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas corpora'.

coeptis: 'my attempts', 'what I had begun'. F. VI. 798 'Pierides, coeptis addite summa meis'. M. I. 2 'di coeptis . . . adspirate meis'. Verg. G. I. 40 'audacibus adnue coeptis'.

manus ultima . . . defuit: has not received the finishing touches. Petron. 118 (the Bellum Civile) 'nondum recepit ultimam manum'. H. 16. 117 'imposita est factae postquam manus ultima classi'. M. VIII. 200 'postquam manus ultima coeptis imposita est'. XIII. 403 'imposita est sero tandem manus ultima bello'. A. A. III. 226 'aptius a summa conspiciere manu'. Verg. Aen. VII. 572 'extremam Saturnia bello imponit regina manum'. T. III. 14. 22 'summa manu'.

556. **in facies corpora versa novas**: the Metamorphoses, cp. 64. Ovid states that, overwhelmed with grief at his banishment, when departing from Rome, he burnt, in disgust at poetry and because it lacked his final revision, his own copy of this great mythological poem, which relates the 'transformations' of human beings into gods or various living creatures or inanimate objects, beginning with the transformation of Chaos into Cosmos and ending with the conversion of Julius Caesar into a star. But as other copies existed in private possession he subsequently published it during his exile under the supervision of a friend, probably M. Iunius Brutus (see my introduction to T. I. 7), whom in T. I. 7 he requests to undertake this task; his object being to secure the favour and pardon of Augustus (cp. 561–2). Pohlenz, Hermes xlviii. 1. Magnus, Met. praef., p. iii. T. I. 1. 117 'sunt quoque mutatae, ter quinque volumina, formae, nuper ab exequiis carmina rapta meis'. 7. 13 'carmina mutatas hominum dicentia formas, infelix domini quod fuga rupit opus. haec ego discedens, sicut bene multa meorum, ipse mea posui maestus in igne manu. . . . sic ego non meritos mecum peritura libellos imposui rapidis viscera nostra rogis: vel quod eram Musas, ut crimina nostra, perosus, vel quod adhuc

crescens et rude carmen erat. quae quoniam non sunt penitus sublata, sed extant (pluribus exemplis scripta fuisse reor), nunc precor ut vivant'. 27 'nec tamen illa legi poterunt patienter ab ullo, nesciet his summam siquis abesse manum. ablatum mediis opus est incudibus illud, defuit et scriptis ultima lima meis'. 39 'quicquid in his igitur vitii rude carmen habebit, emendaturus, si licuisset, eram'. III. 14. 19 'sunt quoque mutatae, ter quinque volumina, formae, carmina de domini funere rapta sui. illud opus potuit, si non prius ipse perissem, certius a summa nomen habere manu: nunc incorrectum populi pervenit in ora'. IV. 10. 63 'tunc quoque, cum fugerem, quaedam placitura cremavi, iratus studio carminibusque meis'.

Wartenberg, Quaest. Ov., p. 22, disbelieves Ovid's statement that he burnt the Metamorphoses, thinking that he was not the sort of man to defraud posterity of such a work. But, with the example of Virgil before him, he may have behaved in this theatrical way. As Plessis says, Poésie latine, p. 451, he was 'plutôt théâtral que menteur'.

It has been supposed that the Metamorphoses as it exists shows traces of imperfect revision, especially in the later books (Haupt on XIII. 441); and that the double readings, where each of the variants are possible, may come from the author himself, being alternatives as to which he had not finally decided on his preference. Helm, de Metam. Ov. locis duplici recensione servatis, Festschr. für J. Vahlen, Berlin, 1900, p. 337. Ehwald, Jahresber. 1901, CIX. 254. Schanz, II. 1. 317. This ingenious theory derives some support from the double readings in Juvenal which seem to come from the poet himself: see my papers in Class. Quart. VI. 33. Journal of Philology, XXXIII. 263. Leo, Hermes, xliv. 600 foll. Magnus, however, rejects the theory as regards the Metamorphoses, Hermes, xl, p. 191, and critical ed. of Met., Praef., p. iv, and attributes the variants to the carelessness or ingenuity of copyists and critics. Ovid, supra 63–4, speaks of the Metamorphoses as incomplete; but traces of imperfect revision are scanty, while the splendid conclusion, with its not obscure imitation of Horace, Carm. III. 30. 1 foll., could only have been added to a poem that was practically complete. XV. 871

> iamque opus exegi, quod nec Iovis ira nec ignis
> nec poterit ferrum nec edax abolere vetustas,
> cum volet, illa dies, quae nil nisi corporis huius
> ius habet, incerti spatium mihi finiat aevi:
> parte tamen meliore mei super alta perennis
> astra ferar, nomenque erit indelebile nostrum.

(See Zingerle, Ov. u. s. Verhältniss, III. 14.) This was probably penned in exile, and forwarded to the editor in Rome, since the expression 'Iovis ira' conveys a veiled significance of the anger of Augustus, who in the Tristia and Epistulae ex Ponto is often spoken of as Iuppiter. T. I. 5. 78 'illum Neptuni, me Iovis ira premit'. III. 11. 62 'Neptunine minor quam Iovis ira fuit?' III. 1. 38 'et magni verum est hanc Iovis esse domum'. IV. 3. 69 'saevis ego sum Iovis ignibus ictus'. Leopold, Exulum Trias, pp. 48 and 213.

557. **atque** joined with **utinam** introduces with emphasis a wish consequential on the preceding context. I. 9. 3. IV. 3. 39. V. 7. 23. P. I. 5. 28. IV. 7. 13; 9. 51; 11. 21; 15. 21. Plin. Ep. III. 13. 3. Kühner, II. 2. 21.

558. **vacuo**: 'when at leisure'. I. 1. 93 'si poteris vacuo tradi'.

tibi . . . legi: by a 'lector'. Plin. Ep. III. 1. 4 'si non (adsunt

amici) liber legitur'. III. 5. 10 'post cibum . . . liber legebatur'. Suet. Aug. 78.

559. **surgens**: 'beginning'. Am. I. 1. 17 'cum bene surrexit versu nova pagina primo'. 27 'sex mihi surgat opus numeris, in quinque residat'. F. V. III 'ab Iove surgat opus', cp. Arat. Phaen. 1 ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα. Iuv. 7. 100 'nullo quippe modo millensima pagina surgit'.

prima . . . ab origine mundi: from Lucret. V. 548 'prima concepta ab origine mundi'. Cp. 678 'res mundi cecidere ab origine prima'. The allusion is to M. I. 1 'in nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas corpora; di coeptis (nam vos mutastis et illas) adspirate meis primaque ab origine mundi ad mea perpetuum deducite tempora carmen'.

The idea of Garnsey, C. R. XXIV. 6, that M. I. 141 foll. is referred to, in which he sees a veiled allusion to Varro Murena's plot to murder Augustus, is too fanciful to be entertained. See C. R. XXIV. 189 foll.

560. **deduxi**: 'I have conducted'. The 'de' in composition indicates that the end aimed at is attained. III. 7. 15 'hocego Pegasidas deduxi primus ad undas'. M. V. 263 'ad latices deduxit Pallada sacros'. Iuv. 14. 104 'quaesitum ad fontem solos deducere verpos'.

tua tempora: 156 n. The allusion is to the concluding section of the Metamorphoses, XV. 745–870, in which the achievements of Julius Caesar, his murder, and transformation into a star, and the victories of Augustus, which brought peace to the Roman world, are sketched.

561. **aspicies**. Since Augustus is requested to permit extracts from the Metamorphoses to be read to him, not to read them himself, Baehrens, Jahrb. f. Class. Phil. CVII. 59, objected to **aspicies** as applying only to seeing with one's own eyes, and conjectured **accipies** 'you will hear', comparing III. 1. 37 'cuius ut accepi dominum'. But 'aspicio' can be used of mental as well as visual perception, V. 14. 35 'aspicis ut longo teneat laudabilis aevo nomen inextinctum Penelopea fides?' H. 21. 28 'quantus sit nobis aspicis ipse labor'. Hor. Ep. I. 7. 96 'qui semel aspexit quantum dimissa petitis praestent'.

For **aspicies** Heinsius and Loers introduced **aspicias**, found in the Codex Moreti and the Bodleian Rawl. 107, explained by Burman and Harles by supplying 'utinam', by Loers more correctly as the apodosis 'then you would perceive'. But the future indicative may stand equally well as the apodosis. The whole sentence 557–60 is an instance of a form of conditional sentence developed from the earlier parataxis, the conditional force resulting from the context. A protasis may be expressed by a jussive subjunctive without 'si' as Verg. Aen. VI. 31 'partem opere in tanto, sineret dolor, Icare, haberes'; Am. I. 4. 29 'quod tibi miscuerit, sapias, bibat ipse, iubeto'; or as here by an optative clause introduced by **utinam**. The affinity of the optative to the conditional clause is shown by the fact that wishes are sometimes expressed by a conditional clause with 'si', Verg. Aen. VI. 187 'si nunc se nobis ille aureus arbore ramus ostendat nemore in tanto!' The apodosis to an optative clause with **utinam** is usually in the subjunctive, as appears from the examples here collected: H. I. 5 'o utinam . . . obrutus insanis esset adulter aquis! non ego deserto iacuissem frigida lecto, non quererer tardos ire relicta dies; nec mihi . . . lassasset viduas pendula tela manus'. Am. II. 15. 9 'o utinam fieri subito mea munera possem! . . . tunc ego te cupiam, domina, et tetigisse lacertos . . . elabar . . . inque sinum . . . cadam'. T. IV. 3.

39 'atque utinam lugenda tibi non vita, sed esset mors mea . . . spiritus hic . . . exisset, sparsissent lacrimae pectora nostra piae, . . . texissent digiti lumini nostra tui, et cinis . . . iacuisset, . . . tactaque nascenti corpus haberet humus, denique . . . sine crimine mortuus essem'. M. III. 549 'utinam tormenta virique moenia diruerent, ferrumque ignisque sonarent! essemus miseri sine crimine, sorsque querenda, non celanda foret, lacrimaeque pudore carerent'. XIII. 43 'atque utinam aut verus furor ille, aut creditus esset, nec comes hic . . . venisset hortator scelerum! non te, Poeantia proles, expositum Lemnos nostro cum crimine haberet'. XIV. 669 'atque utinam velles! Helene non pluribus esset sollicitata procis'. P. I. 8. 49 'pro quibus amissis utinam contingere possit hic saltem profugo glaeba colenda mihi! . . . ipse velim baculo pascere nixus oves, ipse . . . ducam . . . boves, et discam Getici quae norunt verba iuvenci, adsuetas illis adiciamque minas'. IV. 9. 51 'atque utinam . . . ut mihi placetur principis ira roges! surgat . . . plena pius ignis ab ara, detque bonum . . . omen apex'. Verg. Ec. 10. 35 'atque utinam ex vobis unus . . . fuissem! certe sive mihi Phyllis sive esset Amyntas . . . mecum inter salices . . . iaceret . . . legeret . . . cantaret'. Prop. II. 16. 19 'atque utinam Romae nemo esset dives! . . . numquam venales essent ad munus amicae, atque una fieret cana puella domo'. IV. 3. 45 'Romanis utinam patuissent castra puellis! essem militiae sarcina fida tuae, nec me tardarent Scythiae iuga'. 4. 51 'o utinam magicae nossem cantamina Musae! haec quoque formoso lingua tulisset opem'.

The use here of the fut. indic. **aspicies** in the apodosis belongs to the same class of passages as those noted on 33 supra: **aspicies** means 'you will surely perceive', the indicative emphasizing the certainty of the result. Conditional sentences where the protasis is expressed by an imperative, with fut. indic. in the apodosis, afford a parallel. Am. II. 2. 40 'haec fac, in exiguo tempore liber eris'. T. I. 1. 47 'Da mihi Maeoniden et tot circumspice casus, ingenium tantis excidet omne malis', where 'circumspice' (which I retain as do Cocchia, Landi, and Ehwald-Levy) probably means 'provide him with': cp. Verg. Georg. III. 390. Iuv. 8. 95. See Mayor on Iuv. 1. 155.

pectoris: 'inspiration'. III. 7. 19 'si remanent ignes tibi pectoris idem'. **pectus** being the seat of the intelligence is often equivalent to 'ingenium'. V. 12. 2 'ne pereant turpi pectora nostra situ'. ibid. 38 'fecunda facit pectora laudis amor'. P. I. 3. 28 'sumptaque sunt nobis pectoris arma tui'. M. XIII. 290 'rudis et sine pectore miles'.

562. **favore**: 'devotion'. III. 5. 19 'multaque praeterea manifestaque signa favoris pectoribus teneo non abitura meis'. M. XV. 682 'Aeneadae praestant et mente et voce favorem'.

teque tuosque: Augustus, M. XV. 820–33, 852–4, Livia and Tiberius, ibid. 836–7.

563–8. The statement here that Ovid had written no verse containing personal attack is repeated P. IV. 14. 43 'tam felix utinam quam pectore candidus essem! extat adhuc nemo saucius ore meo': the date of which poem is uncertain, as the Fourth Book of the Epistulae ex Ponto is a miscellaneous collection of poems written at different times of the poet's exile and probably published posthumously. Schanz, II. 1. 331. In any case these two passages must have been written before the elegiac invective Ibis was published, which belongs to the earlier period of his banishment (Schanz, ibid. 337), and where substantially the same is said, Ibis 1 'tempus ad hoc lustris bis iam mihi quinque

peractis omne fuit Musae carmen inerme meae; nullaque, quae possit, scriptis tot milibus, extat littera Nasonis sanguinolenta legi; nec quemquam nostri, nisi me, laesere libelli, artificis periit cum caput Arte sua'. Compare what he says of himself as an indulgent critic of poets V. 3. 53 'idque ita, si vestrum merui candore favorem, nullaque iudicio littera laesa meo est, si, veterum digne veneror cum scripta virorum, proxima non illis esse minora reor'.

563. **mordaci**: 'acrimonious'. P. III. 3. 105 'ergo alii noceant miseris optentque timeri, tinctaque mordaci spicula felle gerant'.

destrinxi: 466 n.

Ovid's language may be quite general; but it is probable that he has in view the Epodes of Horace, which Horace terms 'iambi' lampoons (Epod. 14. 7. Ep. I. 19. 23. Cp. Carm. I. 16. 3) and his Satires, especially Book I, which seems to have given offence; Sat. I. 4. 24. II. 1. 1. It is significant that in Ovid's list of poets who had written on the theme of love, and had either not suffered or enjoyed high favour, though Virgil, Tibullus, and Propertius are included, there is no mention of the amatory Odes of Horace, who might have seemed to afford a telling instance for Ovid's argument. Ovid, an acute critic of poetry, mentions Horace once only, T. IV. 10. 49 'et tenuit nostras numerosus Horatius aures, dum ferit Ausonia carmina culta lyra'. There by the epithet 'numerosus' he seems to recognize that Horace's merit lay in his mastery of rhythm and grace. Here he omits him from his catalogue because he lacks the spontaneity and passionate sincerity of the true love poet. 'Horace writes much about love; but he is never thoroughly in love.' Theodore Martin, Odes of Horace, p. xx. Ovid seems to have forestalled the verdict of posterity; see Sellar, Roman Poets of the Augustan Age, p. 68; Munro, Criticisms and Elucidations of Catullus, p. 227; Dimsdale, Latin Literature, p. 294. We know too little of the 'iambi' of Bassus, T. IV. 10. 47 to say whether Ovid had them in view.

It is possible, as Ehwald suggests, Symb. II. 21, that Ovid's emphatic declaration that he had written no personal lampoons may have been prompted by desire to dissociate himself from such libellers as Cassius Severus, an orator, who was banished on account of his libellous writings, Tac. A. I. 72. 4 'primus Augustus cognitionem de famosis libellis specie legis eius [maiestatis] tractavit, commotus Cassii Severi libidine, qua viros feminasque inlustres procacibus scriptis diffamaverat'. IV. 21. 5. His sentence of banishment occurred in A. D. 7, according to the chronology of Jerome, Gardthausen, Augustus u. s. Zeit, II. 3. 842, shortly before Ovid's own banishment at the end of A. D. 8. Schanz, II. 1. 267. Euseb. Chron. ed. Fotheringham, p. 258.

564. **ullius crimina**: the objective genitive expressing the object of the charge is thus constructed with 'crimen', III. 10. 42 'non foret angustae mors tua crimen aquae'. H. 15. 180 'ne sim Leucadiae mortua crimen aquae'. Nux 1 'nux ego iuncta viae, cum sim sine crimine vitae'. Prop. I. 11. 30 'a pereant Baiae, crimen Amoris, aquae!' II. 30. 24 'hoc si crimen erit, crimen Amoris erit'. Manil. IV. 664 'horrendos angues habitataque membra veneno et mortis pastu viventia, crimina terrae'. Lucan V. 59 'fortunae, Ptolemaee, pudor crimenque deorum'. Stat. Achill. II. 331 'indecores, fatorum crimina, cultus'. Mart. X. 61. 2 'crimine quam fati sexta peremit hiems'. XI. 93. 3 'o magnum facinus crimenque deorum'. Sil. It. III. 421 'hospitis Alcidae crimen'.

565. **candidus**: 467 n.

salibus: witty, pungent sayings, witticisms. **sal** means 'wit', distinguished from 'iocus', broad humour'. Iuv. 9. 9 'agebas vernam equitem, conviva ioco mordente facetus et salibus vehemens intra pomoeria natis'. Cic. Fam. IX. 15. 2 'accedunt non Attici, sed salsiores quam illi Atticorum, Romani veteres atque urbani sales' (genuine Roman wit). Quint. Fratr. I. 2. 7 'dicendi sal facetiaeque' ('wit and humour'). Sen. Dial. IX. 6. 3 'quidam urbanitatem nesciunt continere nec periculosis abstinent salibus'. Hor. A. P. 270 'vestri proavi Plautinos et numeros et laudavere sales'. Prop. III. 21. 28 'librorumque tuos, docte Menandre, sales'. In Cic. Or. 87 'aspergentur etiam sales . . . quorum duo genera sunt, unum facetiarum, alterum dicacitatis', 'pleasantries' (sales) generally are subdivided into 'humour' (facetiae) and 'wit' (dicacitas).

felle: 'acrimony'; poison (1) literally, V. 7. 16 'telaque vipereo lurida felle gerat'. P. I. 2. 16 'omnia vipereo spicula felle linunt'; (2) metaphorically, as here, P. III. 3. 105 'ergo alii noceant miseris optentque timeri, tinctaque mordaci spicula felle gerant' ('biting acrimony'). Mart. VII. 25. 3 (of another's epigrams) 'nullaque mica salis nec amari fellis in illis gutta sit, o demens, vis tamen illa legi'. Plin. Ep. III. 21. 1 (of the poet Martial) 'erat homo ingeniosus, qui plurimum in scribendo et salis (wit) haberet et fellis (acrimony) nec candoris (good nature) minus'.

566. **littera**: letter of the alphabet, 344 n.

567. **tot scriptis**: sc. 'milibus versuum'. Abl. of circumstance, as in Ibis 3 'nullaque, quae possit, scriptis tot milibus, extat littera Nasonis sanguinolenta legi'. **scriptis**, conjectured by Merkel, ed. 1837, p. 141, is preserved in L alone; other MSS. have **scripti**. Then **inter tot populi, tot scripti milia nostri** etc. must be rendered 'among the many thousands of our nation and the many thousand lines I have written, I shall be the only one whom my poetry has injured', **scripti** being explained as equivalent to 'scriptorum'. But the singular (**scripti**) cannot do duty for the plural (scriptorum), and though Ovid's Muse might have injured Ovid himself, it is absurd to say that it could injure any of the lines he had written.

populi, singular, is joined with **milia**, being a collective noun. So Tac. A. XV. 10. 5 'tria milia delecti peditis'. Liv. I. 43. 9 'dena milia aeris'. Cic. Flacc. 80 'census es praeterea numeratae pecuniae cxxx milia'. Catull. 61. 210 'multa milia ludi'.

568. **mea Calliope**: i. q. mea Musa, my poetry. Columella, X. 225 'me mea Calliope cura leviore vagantem iam revocat'. Calliope stands for the Muse as being the chief Muse, Hesiod, Theog. 79 Καλλιόπη θ'· ἡ δὲ προφερεστάτη ἐστὶν ἁπασέων. ἡ γὰρ καὶ βασιλεῦσιν ἅμ' αἰδοίοισιν ὀπηδεῖ. F. V. 80 'prima sui coepit Calliopea chori'. Thus it is she who sings the song of the Muses, M. V. 339, and she is specially invoked by poets (Stesich. fr. 45. Hom. hymn. 31. 2. Lucret. VI. 94. Hor. Carm. III. 4. 2. Verg. Aen. IX. 525. Iuv. 4. 34) and is the inspirer of poetry, Prop. I. 2. 28 'cum tibi praesertim Phoebus sua carmina donet Aoniamque libens Calliopea lyram'.

569. **Quiritem**: a Roman in full possession of civic rights, 'any of my countrymen'. Am. I. 7. 29 'an, si pulsassem minimum de plebe Quiritem, plecterer, in dominam ius mihi maius erit'. The singular is rare, but found in poets and legal formulae: Mayor on Iuv. 8. 47. See Am. III. 14. 9. Hor. Carm. II. 7. 3. Ep. I. 6. 7.

570. **auguror**: 'I surmise'. IV. 6. 40. M. X. 27.

571. **insultasse iacenti**: 'to mock me in my distress'. P. IV. 3. 27

'subito insultare iacenti te mihi nec verbis parcere fama refert'. Ibis 29 'at tibi, calcasti qui me, violente, iacentem . . . debitus hostis ero'. T. III. 11. 1 'si quis es, insultes qui casibus, inprobe, nostris'. V. 8. 4 'casibus insultas, quos potes ipse pati?'

572. **candori**: 467 n.

gratia . . . relata est. The phrase 'referre gratiam', common in prose, like 'referre grates' (Verg. Aen. XI. 509), means to show gratitude in act, repay a favour received. Cic. Balb. 2 'me omnibus, qui amici fuerint, si minus referenda gratia satis facere potuerim, praedicanda et habenda certe satis esse facturum'. Off. II. 69. P. I. 7. 61 'ut emeritis referenda est gratia semper'. IV. 5. 39 'pro quibus ut meritis referatur gratia, iurat se fore mancipii tempus in omne tui'.

574. **pater**: 39 n.

cura: i. q. is qui curam, administrationem habet.

salus: i. q. is qui salvum, incolumem reddit. H. 1. 104 'tertius inmundae cura fidelis (faithful guard) harae'. Cic. post red. ad Quir. 11 'P. Lentulus consul, parens, deus, salus nostrae vitae'.

575. **Ausoniam**: Italy. Ausonia, properly the country of the Ausones, who lived between the Volturnus and the Liris, is used by poets from the Alexandrines downwards (Apoll. Rhod. IV. 553, 660) to denote Italy generally. I. 3. 6. V. 5. 40. F. IV. 290.

576. **victus**: 'appeased', 'moved to pity'. III. 1. 76 'evictus longo tempore Caesar erit'. IV. 9. 3 'nostraque vincetur lacrimis clementia seris', i. e. 'ego, quia clemens sum, vincar' 'my forbearance shall yield to your late repentance', Ellis, Hermath. VII. 206. Vogel, p. 37. M. I. 377 'si precibus . . . numina iustis victa remollescunt'. VI. 483 'vincitur ambarum genitor prece'.

As long as Augustus lived Ovid continued to hope for pardon from the emperor, on whose merciful character he often enlarges, 43 n. IV. 9. 11 'omnia, si nescis, Caesar mihi iura reliquit, et sola est patria poena carere mea. et patriam, modo sit sospes, speramus ab illo'. Leopold, Exulum Trias, 209–12 collects the references. On the death of Augustus in A. D. 14 he despaired of pardon from his cold-hearted successor Tiberius. P. IV. 6. 15 'coeperat Augustus deceptae ignoscere culpae: spem nostram terras deseruitque simul'.

577. **tutius**: 185 n. Supr. 201 'precor supplex ut nos in tuta releges'.

578. **par delicto**: he insinuates that Augustus has punished a slight offence too severely (Pontanus). By **delictum** (in strict legal sense a 'tort' subject to penal action, Moyle, Justinian, Institutes, p. 513, Roby, Roman Private Law, ii. 199) is meant a wilful wrong involving 'dolus', thus opposed to wrong committed through 'error'. It is used of his offence by Ovid, IV. 8. 39. V. 6. 21. P. I. 7. 41. IV. 1. 6.

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